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MEMOIRS

TO ILLUSTRATE

THE HISTORY OF MY TIME.

By F. GUIZOT,

AUTHOR OF 'MEMOIRS OF MR ROBERT PEEL,' 'HISTORY OF OLIVER CROMWELL,' ETC. ETC.

TRANSLATED BY J. W. COLE.

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THE HISTORY OF MY TIME.

CHAPTER I.

MY MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

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(From 1832 to 1837.)

I HAVE no intention of touching upon the questions and quarrels of the present day; I have enough to do with the past, which awaken remembrances of the past, and

to avoid, rather court comparisons and
Nevertheless, at period I have now
reached, a fact presents itself to which I feel bound to
assign character and meaning. The pre-
meditated trial of what since been called Parlia-
mentary Government, generally ascribed the
cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832. It in
fact, in presence of the Parliament, or, to speak more
correctly, of the Chambers, and from their very heart,
this cabinet selected to for the
monarchy their close and active co-operation. I am,
therefore, anxious to explain precisely what appeared
to be in our eyes the nature of the mission the burden
of which we thus accepted.

Men of sense will one day smile when they recall
disputes that for some time prevailed respecting
these words, "parliamentary government," and the
expressions opposed to them. Parliamentary govern-
ment rejected, while the representative system is
acknowledged. The nation refuses a constitutional
monarchy such as we have from 1814 to 1848;
but by the side of a throne preserves a constitution.
People draw distinctions, comment, and
fusedly establish a wide separation between par-
liamentary government and the national and liberal,
but, they say, very different system understood
adopted as successor. I admit this, yield
parliamentary government to the political anatomi-
sts who hold it as dead, and proceed to its autopsy.
But I ask, what, in reality, will its be?
What will the true significance of constitution and

national representation ~~will~~ now occupy ~~the~~ scene? Will ~~the~~ nation exercise an effective influence in ~~the~~ own ~~affairs~~? Will ~~it~~ ~~possess~~ actual and powerful securities for ~~the~~ rights, possessions, and repose, ~~as~~ well as ~~the~~ ~~honour~~, and for all those moral and material interests which constitute ~~the~~ life of a people? Parliamentary government is ~~gone~~ away. Be ~~it~~ ~~so~~. Will it be replaced by a free government under another name? Or will ~~the~~ nation ~~be~~ told clearly ~~and~~ openly ~~that~~ it ~~must~~ ~~be~~ ~~without~~, and ~~that~~ ~~the~~ forms still preserved are nothing more than vain appearances, unworthy falsehood, and puerile illusion?

It ~~is~~ evident that there may be different modes and degrees of free government, and that the division of political rights and powers between authority and liberty cannot be always and everywhere the same. These ~~are~~ questions of time, place, manners, national ~~and~~ geography, and history. I also admit that ~~in~~ these points our parliamentary system has more than once fallen into error; that it has at one time accorded ~~it~~ refused ~~it~~ much ~~it~~ power, ~~it~~ another ~~it~~ liberty, and perhaps to both. But ~~it~~ nothing beyond ~~that~~ is implied in ~~the~~ ~~system~~ upon that system, much of ~~the~~ outcry might have been spared. Faults being acknowledged, the ~~one~~ and important question still remains: Is France to have or not to have a liberal government? It would ~~be~~ ~~the~~ ~~of~~ petty hypocrisy ~~to~~ ~~hide~~ behind ~~the~~ errors of ~~the~~ parliamentary system, either in evasion ~~of~~ an answer ~~to~~ ~~the~~ conclusive question, or to resolve ~~it~~ negatively, without acknowledgment. References ~~are~~ incessantly ~~made~~ ~~to~~ 1789. ~~Let~~ ~~it~~ forgotten ~~that~~ it was

specifically a ~~the~~ government, with ~~the~~ principles and pledges, ~~the~~ France desired at ~~the~~ epoch? Or is it believed ~~that~~ she ~~was~~ ~~the~~ with a ~~new~~ civil ~~and~~ and with ~~new~~ men, either ~~on~~ ~~the~~ throne, ~~and~~ around it, as the price of the revolution into which she plunged!

When ~~we~~ formed the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, the question, ~~as~~ far ~~as~~ it concerned us, was settled. We scarcely troubled ourselves then on the subject of parliamentary government; the name ~~was~~ ~~not~~ thought of. ~~We~~ ~~we~~ seriously ~~intended~~ ~~to~~ introduce a liberal system, with the effectual guarantees of sound legislation. It was, in truth, political liberty which we sought to exercise ourselves, and to establish for our country. In that common principle and object the unity of the ministry was comprised. It ~~was~~ ~~not~~ from combining all the conditions ~~of~~ of presenting all the features usually considered essential to a parliamentary cabinet. We ~~did~~ not enter into office together and ~~at~~ the same time; neither did ~~we~~ ~~all~~ spring, without exception, from the ~~same~~ political ranks. We had not all adopted similar maxims and marched under ~~the~~ flag. Of the eight ministers of the 11th of October, 1832, four had belonged to the preceding cabinet; four only ~~remained~~ ~~new~~. Some had supported and served, others had opposed the Restoration. A close investigator of ~~our~~ ideas and general tendencies, of our habits of mind and life, would have found amongst ~~us~~ important distinctions. But whether from principle, taste, good sense, ~~or~~ prudence, we all looked upon liberal government as the form

required. All were unanimously of opinion that the Monarchy and the Charter should go into a truth together.

In the eyes of the most intelligent and favourable spectators, the enterprise appeared to be singularly difficult and hazardous. Through the determined energy of M. Casimir Périer, and the great struggle of the 5th and 6th of June, the Government of July still maintained itself; but at that point it was confined. It was surrounded by the same enemies, and menaced by the same perils. Conspiracies and insurrections were flagrant and imminent; secret societies became more and more inflammatory and audacious; the periodical press, in a great majority violently hostile, aggressive, and destructive, controlled, intimidated, and led away the parliamentary opposition. This unproductive victory, the continued boiling of the tempest when we believed ourselves in port, struck the enlightened with surprise and disquietude, and impressed them with melancholy doubts as to the wisdom of a policy combining, at the same time, resistance and liberty. On the 17th of October, M. de Barante wrote me from Turin thus: "You are involved in imminent risks, you and the country: I am satisfied, but uneasy. Do not let those terrible senseless clamours obtain much influence in the Chamber? Are you persuaded that you will have a majority? Probably without that conviction you would not have risked yourself, your friends, and your common lot." Eight days later, on the 25th of October, M. Rossi, from Geneva, expressed to me

analogous apprehensions: "The ~~game~~ is, as you say, thoroughly on ~~the~~ hazard; but it ~~is~~ you who have ~~the~~ great struggle upon your ~~share~~. No one, as you well know, more sincerely ~~wishes~~ you ~~success~~ ~~than~~ I do. You will win, if you can employ your unimpeded energies ~~in~~ ~~the~~ consolidation, advancement, and glory of France? But can you do this? Will you ~~be~~ understood? Will you not be ~~misunderstood~~? These are my fears, always flattering myself that they are chimerical." At the moment of forming the cabinet ~~the same~~ ~~men~~ possessed several of ~~the~~ leading members. The Duke ~~de~~ Broglie, who made my adherence the condition of his own, hesitated, as short time before, as ~~to~~ whether he could take office. On the 27th of June, he ~~wrote~~ to me as follows: "The turn which the affairs of La Vendée have taken within the last six weeks seems ~~to~~ render my joining ~~the~~ ministry utterly impossible. There is already enmity enough attached to the name of Doctrinarian. We must not ~~at~~ ~~the~~ moment add ~~to~~ it ~~the~~ objection of passing for Carlists in the ~~eyes~~ of blockheads. It will not do ~~to~~ supply such arms against the cabinet now reconstructing ~~as~~ would be furnished by my political conduct in the Chamber of Peers during the course of the last session. This is a mischance from which I could not redeem myself ~~but~~ by becoming a persecutor—a character in no way suited ~~to~~ my disposition. I am ignorant of your views, and of what you believe ~~to~~ be possible or desirable. I think if you ~~will~~ ~~make~~ on ~~the~~ ~~part~~ Thiers ~~and~~ Dupin, the arrangement will ~~be~~ good; ~~but~~ ~~if~~ ~~this~~ cannot be, ~~it~~ will be ~~better~~ ~~not~~ ~~to~~ ~~attempt~~ and compromise yourself for

certain defeat. It is not to you who know me that I need say, all I can do is yours, either in or out of the ministry, and I will readily lay my head where you place your own; but, I repeat, it would seem so absurd to brave the storm which my name alone would excite. The cry of Carlist is really only a cry which at the present moment finds any echo in France; and however extravagant it may be, it will raise a storm against me, at least half of the good portion of the Chamber of Deputies, and two thirds of the best-disposed public will not fail to give credit to it."

Even when the cabinet was complete, the members were not all fully confident in its composition and prospects. Admiral de Rigny wrote to M. Dupin: "I am little disposed, as you know, for such a combination, despite my high estimation of the respective persons. At least, I shall not be accused of having remained by choice, for I declare—and I am sure I have still a right to be believed—that in so acting, I have done violence to myself. Undoubtedly the situation is dangerous; in this I do not deceive myself. It would have been so even with your support, though, as I think, in a less degree. What will it be without that aid?"

M. Thiers also was a little uneasy as to an alliance with the Doctrinaires; and, though thoroughly loyal in his intercourse with them, and convinced of the necessity of their co-operation, he took some pains to remain and appear, exactly separated, but distinct and independent.

One particular circumstance diminished the difficulties

of this situation and assisted the new government in
 carrying them. Independently of the common
 conviction which united their general policy, the cabinet
 of the 11th of October, 1832, had the advantage, that
 each of its members was well suited to the special post
 in which he was placed. The army required not only
 to be completely remodelled, but to be raised above the
 check it had received in 1830. Marshal Bugey was
 more capable than any other person of rendering
 double service. "An unrivalled organiser of troops,"
 according to the Emperor Napoleon; an old soldier,
 a commander of high renown, a serious Gascon, skilful
 in availing himself of his name and reputation, either in
 the public service or in his own private affairs, and
 gifted with that sense of authority, a bold and pru-
 dent, which knows how to exercise power with due
 restraint. Respect for treaties, independence and dig-
 nity during peace, the confidence of Europe in the
 integrity of the new government of France, the close
 relations with England—all these essential bases of
 external policy were guaranteed by the character and
 position of the Duke de Broglie, who found in his per-
 sonal intimacy with Lord Granville—at that time
 English ambassador in Paris—valuable facilities and
 legitimate means of success. In accepting the ministry
 of the Interior, although almost entirely reduced to the
 duties of watching the general safety, M. Thiers had,
 as he were, personally pledged himself to put an end to
 the danger of insurrection which the presence of the
 Duchess de Berri maintained in the French depart-
 ments. By this he rendered the testimony of his

devotion ■■■ cause he served and the cabinet he had joined. Admiral de Rigny, who ■■■ won renown in the command of our squadron in ■■■ Levant, and ■■■ Navarino, possessed the rare merit of being exempt from prejudices ■■■ questions relating ■■■ our colonial system, ■■■ ■■■ a strong disposition to undertake the important reforms in that department, which ■■■ equally called for by human rights and sound administration. ■■■ Barthe, under ■■■ Restoration, had been ■■■ much engaged in the ranks and acts of the extreme opposition for ■■■ devotion ■■■ the service of the monarchy of 1830 not ■■■ excite against him those of his old allies, who ■■■ hostile to all forms of kingly government; but his situation and temperament suited ■■■ majority of the party which adopted frankly the ■■■ system. He could ■■■ be suspected of a leaning towards the Legitimists, ■■■ he showed himself firm in support of the recently established power against its various opponents. King Louis-Philippe, ■■■ whom he had rendered good service under the embarrassments of the ■■■ administration, treated him with confidence. "Very few advocates," ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ me one day, "understand the conditions of government: ■■■ has mastered them. He is not a deserter, but a ■■■ vert: ■■■ has seen ■■■ light." M. Humann ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ once obtain the ■■■ credit with ■■■ King. As a minister of Finance ■■■ was exacting, suspicious, ■■■ tible, and anxious ■■■ ■■■ appear yielding towards the crown; but his acknowledged talents, his great personal fortune—the fruits of his ability, the gravity of his deportment, which took nothing from ■■■ shrewdness,

his spirit of order and regularity in the management of the public funds, gave him an authority in the Chambers, as regarded the affairs of his department, which on great occasions, and with exalted intelligence, he always exercised for the advantage of the general policy. Amongst the ministers of the 11th of October, he was whose special merit was generally recognised by the public, and contributed much to the credit of the cabinet.

I directed the ministry of Public Instruction for four years. During that time I entered upon every question which belonged or applied to that department. I am anxious to review what I accomplished, what I commenced without carrying through, and what I intended to achieve. Throughout the same period I was also engaged in the struggles of interior and external policy, in all the vicissitudes of the composition and destiny of the cabinet. I was exempt from this battle of the events and passions of the day such as relate only to Public Instruction. Not that these were without their excitement and stir; but they are passions lit upon another hearth, and commotions acted in a different sphere. There are combats and struggles in the region of ideas, but even when that region ceases to be serene, it still continues elevated: when we have mounted there, it is becoming to descend every moment, and re-enter the vortex of temporal interests. When I have recounted my labours from 1837, in the service of mind and intelligence, as applicable to future generations, I will not forget the part I took, during the same epoch, in the political conflicts of my contemporaries.

There is a fact which has been little regarded. Amongst us, and in our days, the ministry of Public Instruction is the most popular of all governmental departments, and that which the people look upon with the highest favour and expectation. A good symptom in our age, when men, as is said, are exclusively occupied with their material interests. The ministry of Public Instruction has nothing whatever to do with the material and actual interests of the generation which possesses the world for the moment. It is consecrated to succeeding races—to their intelligence and destiny. Our age and our country, therefore, are so indifferent to them they are accused of being to moral order and to the future.

Family duties and feelings exercise a present an extensive sway. I say duties and feelings, not the family spirit or sympathy of class, such as it existed under our old society. Legal and political family ties are weakened; natural and moral bonds have increased in strength. Never did parents live so affectionately and intimately with their children; never were they so completely engaged with their instruction and prospects. Although profusely mingled with error and evil, the violent shock which, in our sense, Rousseau and his school have given to minds and manners, has not been profitless, and salutary changes will remain. Egotism, corruption, and worldly frivolity assuredly are not rare. The very foundations of the family tie have lately been and are still exposed to numerous and perverse attacks. Nevertheless, looking upon our social system in general, and on those millions of existences which pass noise-

lessly on, ~~the~~ really constitute France, ~~the~~ domestic virtues and affections predominate, and ~~are~~ more than ~~now~~ exemplified in the ~~present~~ and active solicitude of parents for the education of their children.

An idea connects itself with these sentiments and gives them a new empire. ~~The~~ idea ~~that~~ personal merit is ~~now~~ the ~~first~~ controlling influence, ~~as~~ it is the primary condition of success in life, and that ~~this~~ quality is indispensable. We have witnessed, during three-fourths of a century, the incompetence and fragility of ~~all~~ the advantages derived from accident, birth, riches, ~~and~~ traditionary rank. We have seen, ~~at~~ the same time, in every stage and fluctuation of society, a crowd of men ~~themselves~~ and take high places, by ~~the~~ sole force of intelligence, character, knowledge and exertion. In conjunction with the ~~most~~ ~~injurious~~ impressions which this violent and perpetual confusion of places and persons excites in the mind, a great moral lesson presents itself;—the conviction ~~that~~ man can vindicate his own value, and that his destiny essentially depends ~~on~~ individual worth. In spite of all that ~~our~~ manners retain of weakness and inconsistency, there ~~is~~ ~~a~~ pre-~~valence~~ in French society a general and profound sentiment, acting powerfully in the bosoms of families, which gives to parents ~~more~~ judgment and foresight in the education of their children, and which they could not have acquired without these rude warnings of contemporary experience: judgment and foresight ~~are~~ more necessary in the classes already well treated by fortune than in others less favoured. A great geologist, M. Elie ~~de~~ Beaumont, ~~has~~ brought ~~us~~ into close acquaintance

with the revolutions of the globe. The inequalities of its surface are formed by interior fermentation; volcanoes have produced mountains. Let not the [redacted] which occupy the social eminences delude themselves. A corresponding fact is passing under their feet. Human society continues to ferment [redacted] in the lowest depths, and struggles to eject from its bosom [redacted] elevations. This extensive and hidden ebullition, [redacted] ardent [redacted] universal movement of ascent, forms the essential characteristic of all democratic associations; it is, in truth, democracy itself. In presence of [redacted] fact, what would become of the classes already endowed with social advantages—the long-descended, the rich, the great, and the favoured of every description, if to the gifts of fortune they [redacted] not the claims of personal merit? If they did not by study, labour, acquirement, and energetic habits of mind and life, render themselves equal in every career to the immense competition they have to encounter, and which can only be overcome by grappling with it vigorously!

It is in this condition of [redacted] society, to an instinctive appreciation of [redacted] necessities, to the sentiment of ambitious and provident solicitude which reigns in families, [redacted] ministry of Public Instruction [redacted] popularity. All parents interest themselves warmly in [redacted] abundance and [redacted] of the [redacted] from which their children are [redacted] nourished.

By the [redacted] of [redacted] powerful domestic interest, a great public consideration also places [redacted] Necessary [redacted] families, the ministry of [redacted] Instruction [redacted] less important to [redacted]

The grand problem of modern society is the government of minds. It has frequently been said in the last century, and it is often repeated now, that men ought not to be fettered, that they should be left to their free operation, and that society has neither the right nor the necessity of interference. Experience has protested against this haughty and precipitate solution. It has shown what it was to let minds be unchecked, and has roughly demonstrated that even in intellectual order, guides and bridles are necessary. The very men who have maintained, here and elsewhere, the principle of full unrestraint, have been the first to recognize it as soon as they experienced the burden of power. Never were minds more violently hunted down, never less open to self-instruction and spontaneous development; never have more systems been invented, or greater efforts been made to subjugate them, than under the rule of those parties who had demanded the abolition of all intermeddling in the domains of intellect.

But if, for the advantage of progress, as well as for good order in society, a certain government of minds is always necessary, the conditions and nature of this government are neither the same at all times nor in all places. Within our own experience they have greatly changed.

Formerly, the church alone possessed the control of minds. She united, at once, moral and intellectual supremacy. She was charged equally to feed intelligence and to govern souls. Her domain was exclusively faith. Intelligence and science have become expanded and

secularized. Laical men have entered in crowds into the field of the moral sciences, and have cultivated it with brilliancy. They have almost entirely appropriated mathematics and natural philosophy. The church has not wanted erudite ecclesiastics; but the learned world, professors of science, has become secular and clerical. Science has ceased to dwell habitually under the same roof with faith; she has traversed the world, and has become a practical force, fertile in daily application for the use of all classes of society.

In becoming more laical, intelligence and science have aspired to greater liberty. This was the natural sequence of their power, popularity, and pride, which increased together. And the public has sustained them in their pretension, for it speedily discovered that its own liberty was intimately connected with theirs; and, after, that liberty conferred the means of thought and science as just reward for the powers they had placed at the disposal of society, and for the common good they had conferred on all.

Whether we receive them with congratulations or regret; whether we look upon their consequences; whether we alarm ourselves as to their danger;—here are certain and irrevocable facts. Intelligence and science will again become essentially ecclesiastical; neither will they be without an extensive field of free exercise.

But precisely because they are more laical, more powerful, and more free than formerly, intelligence and science could remain beyond the government of society. When we say government, we do not

sarily imply positive and ~~the~~ authority. Washington said, "influence ~~is~~ not government;" and in ~~the~~ ~~of~~ political order ~~is~~ ~~the~~ right. Influence there would ~~not~~ ~~be~~. Direct and promptly effective action is necessary. With intellectual order the ~~is~~ ~~is~~ different. Where minds are concerned, it ~~is~~ pre-eminently by influence ~~the~~ government should be exercised. Two facts, ~~as~~ I think, ~~are~~ here necessary: one, ~~that~~ the powers devoted ~~to~~ intellectual labour, ~~the~~ leaders of science and literature, ~~should~~ be drawn towards ~~the~~ government, frankly assembled around it, and induced ~~to~~ live in natural and habitual relations with constitutional authority; the other, that the government should not remain careless ~~and~~ ignorant of the moral development ~~of~~ of succeeding generations, and that ~~as~~ they appear upon the scene, it should study to establish intimate ties between them and the state, in the bosom of which God has placed their existence. For the progress of intellectual order, it ~~is~~ the legitimate and necessary duty of civil government ~~to~~ promote great establishments for science, and great schools for public instruction, on regulated conditions, and supported by ~~the~~ highest public authority.

By what ~~means~~ can ~~we~~ at present, in France, ~~the~~ action of the government, and satisfy ~~a~~ vital requirement of society? Formerly, France possessed, in great number, special establishments, supported by themselves; universities, ~~and~~ learned or scholastic corporations, which, without depending ~~on~~ the state, were, however, connected ~~with~~ it by ties ~~of~~ or ~~the~~ intimate or apparent; ~~the~~ demanding its support,

and ■■■■ able entirely to withdraw from ■■■■ intervention; and ■■■■ conferring ■■■■ the civil power an actual although an indirect ■■■■ limited influence on ■■■■ intellectual ■■■■ education of society. The University of Paris, the Sorbonne, the Benedictines, ■■■■ Oratorians, ■■■■ Lazarists, the Jesuits, and many other corporate ■■■■ and schools scattered through the provinces, were assuredly not branches of public administration, and ■■■■ often the ■■■■ of serious embarrassment. Before they disappeared in ■■■■ revolutionary tempest, several of these establishments had fallen into abuse ■■■■ insignificance, which destroyed their moral credit and obliterated their services. But for ages they had seconded the intellectual development of French society, and had co-operated profitably in its government. Being nearly all old proprietaries, attached ■■■■ their traditions, and founded with ■■■■ religious object, they had instincts of order and authority ■■■■ well ■■■■ of independence. In the aggregate, they constituted ■■■■ mode of action by ■■■■ on the intellectual life and education of the people: a confused and incoherent mode, which had its difficulties and vices, but was not deficient either in dignity ■■■■ efficacy.

In 1848, during my residence in England, the question was ■■■■ whether it would be desirable ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ ministry of public instruction in that country, and thus ■■■■ place ■■■■ great social interest under the direct authority of the civil and central power. Men of eminence, ■■■■ of them politicians and members of parliament, ■■■■ belonging to ■■■■ Anglican church, others purely liberal and philosophical, requested my

opinion. We had several conversations on the subject. I explained to them the system of public instruction in France; they were already well acquainted with that of Germany. After a serious investigation of the matter, they arrived at a conclusion as regarded their own country, which I think it well to repeat here in its bearing; for, while it describes correctly the nature of the establishments in England, it throws, in this particular point, a strong light upon the comparative state of the two countries.

"We have not," said they, "in England, as in France and Prussia, a general and uniform system of public instruction. But we have public seminaries in great number, and of every kind and degree: elementary schools for the education of the people, colleges for classic and literary study, and universities for all the higher branches of science.

"These establishments are distinct and isolated. Each exists by itself for its own advantage, and with its own management and administration. They are all different; they have ever been and still continue organized according to the ideas and intentions of the founders, of those by whom they are conducted, and of the portion of the public who confide their children to their care. They are in a great degree, if not entirely, independent of the central government, which watches over and sometimes interferes, but does not direct them. Finally, they are for the most part subject to religious control; the greater number under the influence of the established church; the remainder under that of the dissenting sects and communions.

" There are undoubtedly in the interior administration and organization of these ~~establishments~~ many imperfections which may be pointed out, many ~~things~~ to abolish, ~~things~~ to fill up, and improvements to introduce. We are anxious for ~~these~~ reforms. We wish ~~the~~ ~~the~~ central government of the state, either ~~the~~ parliament or the crown, would interpose to supply all deficiencies in the existing establishments, to ~~remove~~ abuses and to permit such ~~degrees~~ of development as may stimulate mutual zeal and emulation. ~~But we~~ consider it essential ~~that~~ the interference of government ~~should~~ stop there, and not institute a special ministry of public instruction, with a view either of founding by the side of, and independent of the actual establishments, a general system of different schools, or of laying hand upon ~~these~~ separate institutions to unite them into a combined whole, and place them under a single authority. Such an attempt would be a positive revolution in matters of public teaching. We infinitely prefer the maintenance of the present system.

" First, because that system does exist, and that we hold essentially to the support of acquired rights and established facts, in regard to public instruction, as in other ~~matters~~. It is not easy to ~~change~~ beings who actually live and endure. Our elementary schools, whether of the established church or of the dissenters; ~~our~~ classical colleges of Eton, Harrow, Westminster, and Rugby; ~~our~~ universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are living ~~and~~ proved existences. We may organize upon paper ~~a~~ complete ~~and~~ systematic seminaries of instruction. But would they rise beyond ~~the~~

paper? Would they increase and fructify? Would they last? We have strong doubts to the contrary. We have more confidence in those consecrated by time, than in the experiments of human fancy.

Again, the variety and isolation of the existing establishments pledges of liberty; and we lay much stress on liberty, real and practical, in public instruction on all other points. It is liberty that has founded the chief portion of our present schools, great and small. They owe their existence to the free intentions, the voluntary gifts of persons who desired to gratify a particular sentiment, or to realize a certain idea. The ideas and sentiments which animated the founders, occupy still, in all probability, an important place in our present society. The world does not change so much or so quickly as superficial minds imagine, and liberty accords ill with scientific uniformity. We desire that the various establishments founded in times past by the free wishes of benevolent persons, should still continue to offer us the unfettered choice of parents for the education of children, their different recommendations; and we believe this to be essential to the prosperity of public instruction, which requires the confidence of families, and also to the stability of social order.

“Further, we attach a predominant value to the religious feelings and influences prevailing at present in the greater part of our public schools; feelings and influences which would disappear, or at least become materially weakened if these establishments were blended into one whole, subject to the direct control of the

present action of ~~the~~ government. We ~~are~~ ~~not~~ from wishing to intrust to the church ~~the~~ general control of public instruction; neither do we desire ~~to~~ replace public instruction entirely in the ~~hands~~ of ~~the~~ central laical power, which, either by design ~~or~~ not, would speedily ~~be~~ from the religious authorities ~~the~~ degree of influence they ought to preserve.

“ A principle is appealed to. Civil and religious instruction, it ~~is~~ affirmed, ~~should~~ be completely divided; in giving up religious culture entirely ~~to~~ ~~the~~ clergy, and in securing ~~to~~ them the means and liberty of dispensing it, civil education ought to remain exclusively under the control of laical superintendence. We condemn this principle ~~as~~ ~~being~~ and pernicious, ~~at~~ least in the sense and ~~in~~ ~~the~~ extent proposed. In ~~matters~~ of elevated science, and for men, or youths verging on the age of manhood, civil and religious instruction may be entirely separated. The nature of their studies admits of the division, and ~~the~~ freedom of the human mind requires it. But the higher branches of teaching ~~are~~ only one of the degrees in every general system of public instruction. What is the important ~~matter~~ in the greater number of ~~these~~ seminaries, in elementary and classical schools, and for ~~the~~ children who live there so many years? The essential questions ~~are~~ education and moral discipline. Good in itself, and by ~~the~~ rich additions it brings to the natural faculties of man, ~~it~~ is above all, in its intimate connection ~~with~~ moral development, ~~the~~ ~~the~~ excellence of intellectual instruction consists. Now, we may separate instruction, ~~but~~ ~~we~~ ~~cannot~~ divide education. We ~~may~~ limit to certain hours ~~the~~ ~~time~~

which apply to intelligence only ; but we cannot ensure or canton the power of religious influences over the entire soul. To reach their end, to produce their effect, religion must be ever present and habitually so. Pure civil instruction may form the mind and character, but it cannot nourish or regulate the soul. God and the parents of the child alone have this power. There can be no true moral education except through the bonds of family or religion. And there where the family is not, that is to say, in our public schools, the influence of religion is doubly necessary. It forms the honour and happiness of our country that in our establishments of public instruction, this influence in general predominates. We cannot find that with it it has injured either the activity or free development of the human mind, while at the same time it is evident that it has materially promoted public order and individual morality.

“ We should therefore regard as a serious evil, and would oppose with our utmost strength, any general organization of public instruction which should materially alter the actual condition of our different establishments, and their prevailing influences. We shall applaud all reforms and interior improvements that may be introduced, but we neither wish to see our schools in a uniform mould, nor to see them concentrated under the government of a single hand.”

I can understand why the English arrive at this conclusion, and I commend them for it. In France we have no grounds on which to rest a similar argument. With us, the old multiplied establishments of public

instruction have disappeared; the ~~the~~ and ~~the~~ property, the corporations and the endowments. We have no longer in ~~the~~ great society any small private associations, self-subsisting, and dedicated to various degrees of education. All ~~the~~ recovered itself, ~~an~~ endeavours ~~to~~ spring up, of ~~the~~ nature, ~~a~~ evidently insufficient ~~to~~ the public ~~work~~. In the ~~process~~ of instruction, as in ~~the~~ entire social organisation, a general system founded and supported by the ~~state~~ is, with us, an ~~absolute~~ necessity; the condition imposed ~~on~~ ~~us~~ by ~~our~~ history and national genius. We desire unity,—the ~~state~~ alone can give it; ~~we~~ have destroyed everything,—we must create ~~another~~.

It is ~~a~~ strange spectacle ~~to~~ behold man ~~to~~ issue with the work of creation, and the ambitious grandeur of his thought displaying itself without regard to ~~the~~ ~~limits~~ limits of his power. From 1789 to 1800, three celebrated bodies, ~~the~~ sovereigns of their time, the Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the National Convention, undertook ~~to~~ bestow ~~on~~ France a grand system of public instruction. Three persons of eminent and very opposite abilities, M. de Talleyrand, M. ~~de~~ Condorcet, and M. Daunou, ~~the~~ successively commissioned to draw up a report and present a plan on ~~the~~ important question, ~~the~~ which the enlightened spirits engaged in revolutionary struggles delighted ~~to~~ occupy themselves, as if ~~in~~ in this field of speculation and philosophic hope, some relief from the violence of the times. The reports of these three brilliant men, representing the society, ~~the~~ politica, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ science of their ~~works~~, are remarkable works, both in their common

character and in their **and** distinctive features. In all three, **alone** reigns supreme in this world, and **Revolution of 1789** is the date of his accession **throne**. **ascends** confident in **omnipotence**, regulates human society as **a master**, for the future **well as** for the present, and feels assured of fashioning **according to his own will**. In the report to which M. de Talleyrand has **name**, **pride of mind** predominates, combined with benevolent ardour, but without passion **hesitating doubt**. Public instruction **there called** "*a power which embraces everything, from the **of infancy** the most imposing fêtes of the nation; everything calls for a creation in this branch; its essential characteristic ought **be universality**, whether in persons **things**; the state must govern theological studies **well **all others****; evangelical morality is the noblest present which the Divinity **bestowed **man****; the French nation does honour to itself in rendering this homage." *The Institute*, the **of **the academies****, **proposed as the supreme school, the pinnacle of public education**; it is to be **once a learned and instructing body, and the administrative organ of all other scientific and literary establishments**.*

Between the report of M. de Talleyrand to the Constituent Assembly and that of M. **Condorcet** **the Legislative Assembly, the filiation **visible****. They have travelled along **declivity, but **space included **immense******. With the latter, philosophical ambition **given way **revolutionary excitement****. A special **exclusive feeling of policy governs**

the work; equality is the principle and sovereign end. "The order of nature," says Condorcet, "includes no distinctions in society beyond those of education and wealth. To establish amongst citizens an equality in fact, and to realize an equality confirmed by law, ought to be the primary object of national instruction. In every degree, and in all public establishments, teaching should be entirely gratuitous; instruction without charge should be the first consideration in respect of social equality." The report and plan of Condorcet are entirely devoted to the tyrannical notion of equality, which penetrates to the heart of the great national association of science and art destined to crown the edifice. "No member can belong to two classes at the same time; this is injurious to equality."

In the report of M. Daunou to the National Convention, liberty occupies a larger share than equality. He reproaches his predecessors with not having sufficiently acknowledged and secured the rights. In the plan of M. de Talleyrand, he found "too much respect for old forms, too many bonds and impediments." "Condorcet," he said, "proposed to institute in some degree an academic church." M. Daunou desires a public organization of scientific or literary instruction. The state, according to him, should only interfere with elementary and professional training. Beyond that, "liberty of education, liberty of private seminaries, liberty of method." But, with his extended notion of freedom in public instruction, M. Daunou has his own idea of mania. The passion of republicanism is with him what that of equality is with M. de Condorcet.

"There is no genius," says he, "except in a republican soul. A system of public instruction can only be carried on in community with a republican government." Under the empire of such a constitution, "the extensive system of education," he continues, "are in the establishment of national festivals;" and he devotes an entire section of his proposed bill to the enumeration and arrangement of these annual ceremonies, to the number of seven; festivals in honour of the republic, of youth, of marriage, of gratitude, of agriculture, of liberty, and of old age.

In the midst of the revolutionary tempest, all these plans and devices, alternately liberal, dangerous, or puerile, remained without results. Universal and gratuitous elementary education was decreed, but there were neither seminaries nor teachers. A system of secondary instruction was attempted, under the title of *central schools*, which, notwithstanding ingenious and promising appearances, responded neither to the traditions of teaching, the natural laws of intellectual development in man, nor the moral requirements of education. In high and special instruction, some important and celebrated associations sprung up. The Institute was founded. The mathematical and physical sciences lavished on society their services and their glory, but no great and effective combination of public teaching replaced the departed establishments. Much had been promised and expected, but nothing was done. Chimeras hovered over ruins.

The Consular government proved itself earnest, and effective. The day of the first of May,

1802, ~~but~~ as regarded elementary teaching, incomplete and hypothetical on ~~the~~ higher branches, ~~was~~ established, under the name ~~of~~ fosterage of Lyceums, ~~a~~ well-based system of secondary education, comprising sound principles, ~~and~~ securities for social ~~and~~ duration. The work, however, ~~was~~ ~~deficient~~ in originality and grandeur. Public instruction ~~was~~ considered simply ~~as~~ ~~an~~ administrative duty, and, under ~~that~~ title, was included, with all ~~the~~ components, in ~~the~~ numerous and opposite functions of ~~the~~ ~~Ministry~~ of ~~the~~ Interior. Neither its proper rank, ~~nor~~ the suitable mode of ~~the~~ government ~~was~~ defined. It ~~was~~ under the control of that official mechanism which knows how to regulate and direct material business, but with which the arrangements of moral order ~~must~~ amalgamate.

The Emperor Napoleon ~~did~~ not deceive himself on this point. Warned by those lofty and clear instincts which revealed to him the true nature of things, and the essential attributes of power, he recognized, as soon as he gave his unbiassed reflection to the subject, that public instruction could neither be yielded up entirely to private industry, ~~nor~~ regulated by ordinary administration, ~~nor~~ ~~within~~ the domains, finances, ~~nor~~ highways of ~~the~~ ~~State~~. He comprehended that to give the parties intrusted with education, respect, dignity, confidence in themselves, and ~~a~~ spirit of devotedness ~~to~~ their calling, in order ~~that~~ these men, unassuming and weak, should ~~feel~~ ~~themselves~~ and proud in their obscure positions, it ~~was~~ necessary that they ~~should~~ be ~~assured~~ and ~~that~~ as it ~~was~~ together, so ~~as~~ to form ~~a~~ body, which might reflect on them ~~the~~ strength ~~and~~ importance. ~~The~~ re-

membrance of the old religious and scholastic corporations then recurred to him. But while regarding with willing admiration what had long existed with *éclat*, he discriminated their evil qualities, which would be injurious formerly. The religious institutions were too much estranged from the government of the State, and the society. Through celibacy, the absence of all individual property, and many other things, they lived almost entirely without generous interests, habits, or sentiments. Government exercised upon them an indirect, sparing, and disputed influence. Napoleon felt that, in the present day, the educational department should be laical, social, connected with family interests and property, and intimately united, save only in their special mission, with civil order and the mass of their fellow-citizens. He saw also that this body should hold closely to the State government, receive its powers from that source, and exercise them under its general control. Napoleon created the University, adapting, with admirable discernment and freedom of spirit, the maternal idea of the old educational corporations to the new state of society.

The works of the University escape the contagion of the vices of their authors. The University was founded on the principle that education belongs to the State. The Emperor was the Emperor. The Emperor willed, and was in possession of uncontrolled authority. The University, from its birth, was a system of absolute power. Beyond the institution, neither family rights, nor those of the church, nor of private industry, were acknowledged or respected. Even in the very bosom

of the establishment, there were no real guarantees for the position, dignity, and just independence of persons. If in France the Emperor was the State, in the University the head was the Emperor. I employ expressions too absolute: the government of the University, in fact, has always sought to modify opposing rights. But whatever may be the prudence or inconsistency of men, principles bear their fruit. According to the principles of the University system, we regarded public instruction, there was liberty for the citizens, and no responsibility of the authorities to the country.

Thus, when the Charter established free legislation in France; when the liberty of the citizens, and the responsibility of power became the common law and practice of the land, the embarrassment of the University and of the government, in respect to it, became insupportable. Its maxims, rules, and traditions, no longer accorded with the general institutions. In the sphere of religion, of families, of liberty, and of publicity, claims were raised around and against the University which it was unable to repel without coming into collision with the constitutional system, or to admit without falsifying or mutilating itself. The power which governed it, either under the name of Head Master, Royal Council, or President, was neither a minister, nor sufficiently small and dependent to be merely the subordinate of a minister. No minister would become responsible to it, and it could not carry in itself, either with the Chambers or the public, the weight of responsibility. During six years, from 1810 to 1821, men of a superior cast, M. Royer-Collard, M. Cuvier, M. Sylvester de Sacy, and

M. Lainé, employed their influence in this situation. They gained time; they saved the life of the University, but without solving the question of its constitutional existence. It was a piece, which, in the new machine of government, found neither its place nor its power.

Fortune had its combinations which seemed to mock human foresight. It was under a ministry, looked upon, without reason, as hostile to the University, and at the moment when it most dreaded an attack, that it emerged from its perplexing situation, and resumed its rank in the state. M. de Villèle had appointed the Abbé Frayssinous Head Master. Public instructions were placed under the direction of a bishop. To satisfy the clergy, and to bring them at the same time under his influence, M. de Villèle required nothing more. He associated the Church in the government of the State. He made the Bishop of Hermopolis minister of ecclesiastical affairs, giving him at the same time the title and functions, not only of Head Master of the University, but also of Minister of Public Instruction. Public Instruction became officially included amongst the great public offices, and the University entered, in the train of the Church, into the framework and conditions of the constitutional system.

Within four years after, it made another step in advance. Everywhere dreaded and violently opposed, its preponderance was particularly suspected by the opponents of public instruction. The liberal movement which, in 1827, displaced M. de Villèle brought the Martignac Ministry into office, had

its effect upon the University. The royal ordinance of the 4th of January, 1828, naming the new ministers, declared, "that for the future, public instruction should no longer form a part of the ministry of ecclesiastical affairs;" and on the 11th of February following, it became, in the State councils, a special independent department, confided to M. de Vatimesnil.

This rational and prudent organisation was then only ephemeral. Under M. de Polignac, party passions resumed their ascendancy. The University fell back into the hands of the Church. There was again but one minister of ecclesiastical affairs and of public instruction. The Revolution of 1830 at first allowed this of things to continue; only by an ill-judged concession to the vanity of the laical spirit, and as if to mark its victory, it changed words and displaced ranks. The University took precedence over the Church, by the appointment of a Minister of Public Instruction and Worship. It was under this title, and with these functions, that the Duke de Broglie, M. Mérilhou, M. Barthe, the Count de Montalivet, and M. Girod de L'Ain, filled the department until the formation of the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1836.

In accepting the ministry of Public Instruction, I was the first to require that it should be separated from that of Worship. As a Protestant it was neither fitting that the latter should be confided to me, or that I should undertake it. I venture to think that I should have given the Catholic church no cause to complain: I should perhaps have better understood and defended it than many of its disciples; but there are appearances

which ought never to be encountered. The administration of Public Worship was then blended with the duties of the Minister of Justice. It was, in my opinion, an error not to form it into a distinct department. It was an honour due to the importance and dignity of religious interests. In these, many days, and after many victories, the laical power could not much conciliate the susceptible pride of the clergy and its leaders. It is, besides, an ill-arranged combination to place the relations of the Church with the State in the hands of its rivals or official enemies. To display mistrust to inspire it, and the best mode of living on good terms with the Church, is to acknowledge frankly its importance, and to yield admission to its place and purpose.

Reduced entirely to Public Instruction, the duties of the department I was about to occupy, were, in this light, very incomplete. The University was the cradle from which it had not yet issued. The Head of the University assumed the title of Minister of Public Instruction in general, but without becoming so in effect. I demanded for this ministry its natural privileges and limits. On the one hand, all the great educational institutions founded in no connection with the University, the College of France, the Museum of Natural History, the School of Charters, and the schools specially applied to Oriental languages and archaeology; on the other, the establishments dedicated to instruction, but the glory and advancement of science and letters,—the Institute, the various learned societies, the libraries, and all other encouragements to literature

were, from that time, placed under the authority of the minister of Public Instruction. There were some gaps in the privileges, which of right belong to that department. Amongst others, it was not in the direction of the Fine Arts the influence which it ought to exercise. Art and literature were naturally and necessarily linked together. It was only by this intimate and habitual intercourse that they could be assured of maintaining their suitable and elevated character, — the worship of the beautiful, and its manifestation in the eyes of men. If Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo had been scholars, passing their lives in the learned world of their age, their influence, and with their genius, could have displayed themselves with such pure and powerful effect. Placed beyond the sphere of letters, and within the ordinary domain of administration, the arts incur a serious risk of falling under the exclusive yoke of material utility, and of the caprices of the public. The department of Public Instruction has still, in particular, and in the interest of the arts themselves, an important task to achieve. In a general sense, however, it has received, at the time of my appointment, its legitimate and rational organization. From 1830, it had been little more than an expedient. In 1832, it became, in the aggregate of our institutions, a piece of complete and regular machinery, capable of rendering society and power, in moral and intellectual order, the services, which, however, they could not dispense.

The cabinet being thus constituted, the

of all the ministers defined, each of them to work to accomplish his particular mission in the policy the success of which we desired. The Duke de Broglie entered into close negotiation with the cabinet of London, to settle finally, by the concerted action of the two powers against Antwerp, the Belgian question, which the resistance of the King of Holland left the wishes of all Europe still in suspense. Marshal Soult and Admiral de Rigny hastened to organize, respectively, the army and fleet appointed to carry out this delicate operation. M. Thiers employed all his fertile and active activity in devising means for putting down commotion in the departments of the west. M. Humann, M. Barthe, M. d'Argout, and myself, undertook to prepare, without delay, the various bills agreed to be laid before the Chambers at their approaching session, appointed to open on the 19th of November. The King's speech was a very important consideration both for the crown and the cabinet. The policy of resistance and liberty, of independence and peace, attempted from the day following the Revolution, and energetically carried out by M. Casimir Périer, was therein to be openly avowed, in the name of all the different parties of opinion united round the throne to constitute the Government. The duty of preparing the speech was committed to me.

This task has been nearly always mine in my lot in the various cabinets of which I have been a member. A task difficult in itself, for few things can be more so than to sum up in a few sentences, in general and precise, and significant without being compromising, the

position and policy of a government suddenly formed, and in the midst of action. A still greater difficulty lies in delivering through the royal mouth the sentiments of the king and his advisers, in consistence with the dignity and the intent of both, and in throwing aside all differences that may exist between them, so as to exhibit nothing but the harmonious operation of the power they exercise in common. Notwithstanding its embarrassments, and precisely on account, this ordeal, which the constitutional system imposes periodically on the prince and the ministers, is sound and salutary. It reminds them on a fixed and solemn day of their mutual relations, and of the necessity they are under of showing themselves united, and of speaking and acting in mutual accordance. There is in this public manifestation of the whole government before the country, a due homage rendered to the position occupied by royalty, and a guarantee for the influence of the country in the councils of the sovereign. There is much in being compelled to appear what it is desirable that we should be in effect. Inevitable publicity often determines good conduct, and prevents many more than it reveals.

In November, 1832, the obligation had nothing in it of an embarrassing nature, either for King Louis-Philippe or his advisers. They perfectly agreed upon general maxims of policy, and upon the course to adopt on the particular questions under consideration. Neither the King nor the ministers entertained any exorbitant pretensions or jealous susceptibilities which might tend to impede their intercourse. The

assembled sometimes at the residence of Marshal Soult, their president; others, at the Tuileries, round the King, according to the nature and importance of the affairs in debate. At these meetings there was free liberty of discussion without restraint, for there were few objections to surmount. The preparation of the royal speech, therefore, presented a serious difficulty in the substance of the policy to be adopted. There remained only the obligation, always delicate, of a perfect understanding between the King and his ministers, upon the measure, compatibilities, and colouring of the language which, with reference to the orders of the day, it was necessary to hold before Europe in the name of France; and before France in the name of the government. Before submitting it to the collected cabinet, it was between the King and myself that this difficulty had to be discussed; and here I found my task a laborious one. Not only did King Louis-Philippe meditate profoundly on his royal duties and the affairs of the country, but he possessed, moreover, a singularly fertile mind, quick in apprehension, animated, and flexible; every idea and impression exercised a powerful influence upon him, and at the same moment, a predominant influence. Clear-sighted and judicious in the end he proposed to reach when speaking, he was not always foresee correctly the effect of his words upon the public to whom they were addressed, and almost exclusively occupied himself with satisfying his own idea, to which he often attached more importance than it really possessed. I submitted to him my draft of the speech in the beginning of November, and during a fortnight, upon every paragraph, and nearly upon every word, was

held discussions, incessantly abandoned and renewed, fresh resolutions or doubts arose to contravene decision of the preceding eve. I received daily, and often several times in a morning, little from King, in which he transmitted to the results of perpetual fluctuation of his mind, and thus compelled me reconstruct my own plan. Through natural respect for monarchy, and also in the conviction that the definitive result would be advantageous, I submitted with good grace this long controversy, often upon insignificant points, although sufficiently animated. My expectation not deceived. On reading over, after lapse of twenty-seven years, and in a chapter of ancient history, this opening speech of the session of 1832, I find it worthy of the rational government of free people, and unless I beguile myself, all impartial judges would to-day receive from it the impression.

As soon as the King and myself had nearly agreed, the cabinet, which I had imparted regularly our little debates, adopted the speech at once, with some trifling modifications.

I feel bound to remark that inserting, with respect the policy of resistance, the subjoined paragraph in honour of M. Casimir Périer—"this system that you have strengthened by your co-operation, and which was upheld with so much constancy by the able and courageous minister whose we deplore,"—I tered no opposition whatever from the King. The speech well seconded by the course of events. When the day for opening Chambers arrived, the

19th of November, the foreign and domestic policy of the cabinet already succeeded. The mutual understanding and action between France and England for settling the Belgian question concluded. The French and English fleets blockaded together the coast of Holland; the French army entered Belgium; the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours left Paris to place themselves in its ranks. The Duchess de Berri had been discovered at Nantes, and immediately transferred to Blaye. An incident very unexpected at the time, assisted the effect of these demonstrations of power. At the moment when the King entered the hall of the Palais Bourbon, and had commenced his speech, the assembly learned that a pistol-shot had just been fired at him as he passed the bridge of the Tuileries. An intense emotion was excited, a general commotion; a moment of indignation rather than alarm. Public feeling had not yet become deadened to assassination.

I was present with my colleagues at the royal session. It cost me an effort to be there. For three weeks I had been attacked by bronchitis, which the preparation of the King's speech, with all the incidental goings and comings, the conversations and discussions to which it had given rise, seriously aggravated. I was compelled to retire to my bed on returning from the opening of the Chambers, bitterly chagrined at finding myself incapable of assuming any part in the debates about to commence.

CHAPTER II.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

I CONTINUED ILL FOR SIX WEEKS.—CAPTURE OF [REDACTED] OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS DE BERRY.—OF THE POLICY OF THE CABINET UNDER THIS [REDACTED] RESUME BUSINESS.—INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAMBERS OF DEPUTIES OF [REDACTED] ON ELEMENTARY [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AND PROGRESS ON THE SUBJECT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION FROM [REDACTED] TO 1832.—ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS—OUGHT [REDACTED] EDUCATION TO BE COMPULSORY? SHOULD IT BE GRATUITOUS?—OF LIBERTY IN ELEMENTARY [REDACTED]—THE OBJECTS AND LIMITS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—OF THE EDUCATION AND SUPPLY OF [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] OF ELEMENTARY [REDACTED]—[REDACTED] CO-OPERATION OF THE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] [REDACTED] EDUCATION OUGHT TO BE ESSENTIALLY [REDACTED] [REDACTED] MEASURES TO SECURE THE EXECUTION AND EFFICACY OF THE LAW.—MORAL [REDACTED] [REDACTED] OF THE ACT OF THE 28TH OF JUNE, 1833.—MY CIRCULAR TO ALL THE ELEMENTARY [REDACTED] [REDACTED] VISIT TO THE ELEMENTARY [REDACTED]—[REDACTED] OF INSPECTORS OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—MY COMMUNICATION WITH THE RELIGIOUS CORPORATIONS DEDICATED TO [REDACTED] [REDACTED] ANACLET.—THE ABBÉ J. M. DE LA MENNAIE.—THE ABBÉ F. DE LA MENNAIE.—MY REPORT TO THE KING IN APRIL, 1834, ON THE EXECUTION OF THE ACT OF THE 28TH OF JUNE, 1833.—OF THE ACTUAL STATE OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

I REMAINED ill and condemned to inactivity for [REDACTED] than six weeks. My indisposition was so serious, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] recovery appeared doubtful. It was currently reported that I [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Nice, and that a long sojourn there would be necessary. While I was [REDACTED] to my bed, and [REDACTED] only action, but even [REDACTED]

version was interdicted, events unfolded themselves and proceeded. The two Chambers discussed and voted their addresses in reply to the speech from the throne. The concerted operation of France and England to complete the separation of Belgium and Holland was at an end. Antwerp was taken. When, on the evening of the 14th of December, the King received congratulations on this result, I was still unable to leave the house. My wife alone was the bearer of mine to the Tuileries. "I went yesterday to the palace," she wrote me the following day to her sister. "It was delightful to see the King and Queen so patriotic and paternal, so proud of the glory of our arms, so satisfied to find their children safe from danger, so assuming in speaking of their good conduct. 'My sons have done their duty,' the Queen said to me; 'I am charmed to have it known that they may be relied on in every emergency.'" A few days later, the cabinet was called upon in the Chamber of Deputies to defend its resolution of bringing the Duchess de Berri before the tribunals. The debate was serious. The Duke de Broglie and M. Thiers sustained the whole weight of it. I was equally excluded from the tribune and festivals.

I retain, however, some unpleasant reminiscences of that compulsory retirement. I was watched over with the tenderest solicitude. My colleagues in exile neglected nothing to diminish the mortification I felt at being unable to bear my part in their labours, and to remove from my mind all irritating prepossessions. The Duke de Broglie, although the most demonstrative of men, is

delicate and scrupulous in his regards. M. Thiers, with whom I was in no particular intimacy, was also desirous that I should place confidence in his cordial feelings, and thus to my wife:—"I have wished several times, madam, to call upon M. Guisot, but have been prevented by M. de Broglie, who has positively forbidden my doing so. He fears, lest the sight of a colleague might agitate and induce him to talk too much. I have therefore abstained from visiting, in spite of my own strong desire, an associate in office I so highly esteem, and whose absence I feel more than any one else. Oblige me by conveying to him the interest I take in his present state, and my ardent wishes for his speedy recovery. We are all that we shall have him amongst us again. I sincerely desire this, for his presence is indispensable to me. Tell me, I beg of you, when I may be permitted to see him." I was touched by these friendly manifestations. It is not in my nature to irritate myself under calamities which I may be unresigned. I sought not to aggravate my helplessness by impatience, although I submitted to it with profound regret. In the silence of my bedchamber I passed my time in reflecting on the events in progress, and on the position in which I could take no share. I revolved within myself what I might have done or said, and what I should have said had I been present. There is a controlling charm in political life that it occupies one with designs infinitely greater than himself, and mingles a sentiment of disinterestedness with the joys and sorrows he personally experiences when pursuing them. I consoled myself

under my vexation, and almost lost sight of it while giving up my solitary thoughts ■ those public interests, ■ which for ■ moment I was incapable of lending aid.

The question of the line of conduct already adopted, and to be pursued in future, towards the Duchess de Berri, formed the leading object of my solicitude. In November, 1831, during the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, I had taken part in the debate ■ the subsequent law of ■ 20th of April, 1832, which banished from the territory of France the members of the elder branch of ■ house of Bourbon, ■ also of the family of Bonaparte. We thought ■ had done much, ■ the time, in the ■ of policy and moral propriety, by confining the law ■ that prohibition, without inserting in it any specific penalty. There ■ merit in the ■ of the Act, for it required on the part of the government and its supporters ■ strenuous effort ■ remove from it the ninety-first article of ■ penal Code—judicial prosecution and the punishment of death against any princes of the dynasties that had reigned in France, if, on returning to French soil, they should attempt to excite civil ■.

Placed in collision, in November, 1832, with the ■ thus foreseen, ■ discovered ■ ■ had ■ gone ■ enough in ■ ■ protect sound policy. Judicial prosecution and Article ■ of ■ penal Code were not, it is true, specially ■ in the law of ■ 10th of April, 1832, ■ the question remained open. The Act itself did ■ determine it, ■ it confer ■ power on the government.

We hastened to ~~the~~ in the *Moniteur*, by a royal ordinance, ~~that~~ "a ~~Bill~~ would be presented to the Chambers with exclusive reference to the Duchess de Berri." This ~~was~~ ~~was~~ to be the only method of cutting short the criminal proceedings already commenced by the Royal Court of Poitiers, and the application of the penal Code, which the law of the 10th of April had neither interdicted nor prescribed. ~~The~~ ~~the~~ ~~was~~ thus adopted ~~was~~ both difficult and dangerous in application. It is a constitutional principle that in all such cases the Chambers ~~will~~ only act in a preliminary ~~way~~, and by general ~~declarations~~ after the event and by pronouncing judgment in individual ~~cases~~. The recollections of the revolutionary times and of their legislative proscriptions greatly increased the authority of this principle in men's minds. It ~~was~~ easy to foresee that the Chamber of Deputies would feel little disposed to sit in direct judgment on the Duchess de Berri, while the opposition would gladly profit by such an opportunity of displaying their objections ~~on~~ their temper. We ~~made~~ this so strongly that the decree announcing the projected Bill ~~was~~ never acted upon. Instead of bringing ~~the~~ whole question before the Chambers, the government undertook to dispose of it by forbidding all judicial process ~~in~~ penal application in the instance of ~~the~~ Duchess ~~de~~ Berri, and by thus confining any subsequent ~~action~~ to a fact accomplished ~~and~~ their own responsibility in so concluding it. In ~~a~~ embarrassing predicament they adopted, without doubt, ~~the~~ only line of conduct prescribed and permitted by moral and political consistency, by equity ~~and~~ sound judgment.

But the difficulty would have been considerably diminished, and perhaps the resolution of the cabinet confirmed, if the law of the 10th of April, 1832, while banishing the princes of the deposed royal families from French soil, had expressly provided that if they violated this interdiction they should be personally subject to any judicial process, but be placed at the disposal of government, which might retain them in its own discretion and responsibility. Against such exceptional and entirely political legislation equality in the eye of the law is carried forward. Now there are cases in which equality before the law is a fallacy which equally outrages justice and policy, morality and reason. They are very superficial thinkers who declare that in a monarchy the inviolability of the monarch is a fiction. It is, on the contrary, the simple acknowledgment of a moral truth which human instinct has foreseen, and which has always sprung up again from the most overwhelming storms under which it may have succumbed for the moment. When a single person has become the permanent symbol of a supreme social power, nothing can reduce him again to the condition of a subject, and the fiction lies with those who attempt to confine him within the common privileges. Nations may exist without kings, but kings are not open to trial. History is a hand to teach us that the pretence of such a proceeding is invariably followed to lamentable crimes; that public conviction is never recognized in these cases of pretended justice; that blows of personal hatred or fear. Without being inviolable as the king himself, the members of regal families are so placed, that it

becomes, both in a moral and political view, extremely difficult and injurious to bring them under the law; above all, when the throne they surrounded has yielded to a tempest, and they assume the air of vindicating a right, by attempting its restoration. There is, between their rank as princes, and their condition as men fallen and proscribed, a contrast which inspires more personal interest than their enterprises excite anger and alarm. If acquitted, they are almost victors; if condemned, they are the martyrs of their cause and courage. In 1832 and 1837 the government and the chambers acted under the influence of this just moral appreciation, when, after the arrest of the Duchess de Berri at Nantes, and of Prince Louis-Napoleon at Strasbourg, we determined not to consign them to the tribunals; but the law of the 10th of April, 1832, by its timid silence, rendered our resolution more feeble and inconclusive. When we were in the right, we were not strong enough either to believe or venture to display. There is as much strength as well as dignity in proclaiming openly in its principles, and accepting fully in its consequences, the policy we have determined to exercise. If we had found ourselves already sanctioned by the declared law, we should probably have at once removed Madame de Berri from France, and by so doing have relieved the monarchy of 1830 from serious embarrassments without the slightest addition to its dangers.

Such, from the moment, was our opinion and desire of King Louis-Philippe. We were not in accordance with the law of the 10th of April, 1832, neither considering it necessary for the safety of France, nor for

his own security, and injurious ~~to the~~ indispensable. His ministers had ~~the~~ proposed it, and, in spite of the modifications it underwent during ~~the~~ debates in the ~~the~~ Chambers, he ~~had~~ long before he ~~had~~ firmed it, from a sincere detestation of ~~the~~ least appearance even of words that might imply proscription and confiscation. When ~~it~~ became necessary to put the law in force, the King ~~was~~ desirous that it should be ~~the~~ fined ~~a~~ a strict interpretation of the legal text. The ~~the~~ banished Charles X. ~~and~~ ~~his~~ descendants from the territory of France. It required only that the Duchess de Berri ~~be~~ immediately conveyed beyond ~~the~~ frontiers. "No one, in fact," he said to me, "wishes ~~to~~ bring her ~~a~~ trial. We know not what difficulties may arise from her detention here. Princes are as troublesome in prison as at liberty. People conspire ~~to~~ ~~to~~ them free ~~as~~ readily as ~~to~~ follow them, and their captivity excites more ferment amongst their partisans than their presence." ~~It~~ in the ~~the~~ of public feeling in 1832, after the conspiracies and insurrections of Paris and La Vendée, ~~a~~ cabinet would have ventured ~~to~~ conduct the Duchess de Berri, on the instant, in freedom to ~~the~~ frontiers; and while the King delivered his opinion, he by no means required ~~to~~ ~~to~~ upon it. Mistrust ~~is~~ the scourge of revolutions: it stupefies people even when not urging them ~~to~~ ~~to~~ commission of fresh crimes. In common with my colleagues, I judged it impossible, in 1833, ~~to~~ ~~to~~ de Berri at liberty. Ignorant or unreflecting minds may imagine ~~that~~ the incidents of her imprisonment ~~was~~ favourable ~~to~~ the monarchy of 1830. I ~~am~~ convinced that

we should have served it better by acting with more boldness, that all classes—public, chambers, and cabinet—would have evinced sound and lofty policy by seconding the ineffectual but clear-sighted opinion of the King.

By the commencement of January, I found myself in a condition to resume active life, and began by presenting to the Chamber of Deputies the Bill, which since the formation of the Cabinet I had been preparing, on the subject of public instruction. I was still too weak to be able to read in the tribune either the exposition of my plan or the Bill itself. M. Renouard, one of my most intimate friends in the Chamber, and whom I depended, with good reason, on my second in the debate, undertook the duty for me. I entered with pleasure and confidence on this important question, which I often argued, but never decided, and which I considered myself in the course of bringing to an effective solution. I had expected the trials awaited me before I should be called upon to propose the measure I had proposed.

I have no desire to intrude my private feelings on public attention. The more they are profound and tender, the less they disposed to exhibit themselves, and I cannot show them in their intense reality. Kings exhibit their jewels to the inspection of the curious; but we do not parade our private treasures, the value of which is only known to the owners. Yet when the day arrives in which our invaluable possessions are wrested from us, we would be evincing towards them a want of respect and

faith not to declare the esteem in which they were held, and how void they have left. I have been strongly attached to political life, and have applied myself to it with ardour. I have devoted my public duties, without hesitation, the sacrifice and labour they demanded of me; but these pursuits have never been far indeed from satisfying my desires. It is not that I complain of my incidental trials. Many public servants have spoken with bitterness of the disappointments they have experienced, the sorrows they have undergone, the severities of fortune, and the ingratitude of men. I have nothing of the kind to say, for I have never acknowledged such sentiments. However violently I may have been stricken, I have never found men more blind or ungrateful, or my political destiny more harsh than I expected. It has alternately, and in great abundance, its joys and sorrows; such is the law of humanity. But it has been in the happiest days, and in the midst of the most brilliant successes of my career, that I have found the insufficiency of public life. The political world is cold and calculating; the affairs of government are lofty, and powerfully impress the thought; but they cannot fill the soul, which often has more varied and more pressing aspirations than those of the most ambitious politician. It longs for a happiness more intimate, more complete, and more tender than that which all the labours and triumphs of active exertion and public importance can bestow. What I know to-day, at the end of my race, I have known when it began, and during its continuance; and in the midst of great undertakings, domestic

affections form the ~~main~~ life, and the ~~main~~ brilliant ~~part~~ only superficial and incomplete enjoyments, if a stranger to the happy ties of family and friendship.

This felicity I thoroughly enjoyed in 1832, when I took my place in the cabinet of the 11th of October. I permit myself here to indulge, ~~and~~ without ~~any~~ degree of hesitation, in the melancholy pleasure of citing ~~an~~ evidence, which says ~~more~~ on this point than I either would ~~or~~ could express myself. On the 22nd of October my wife ~~wrote~~ to her sister: "I know ~~the~~ ~~affairs~~ are complicated, stormy, and perhaps dangerous; nevertheless, I ~~am~~ rejoiced ~~in~~ my husband in office. Before ~~my~~ marriage, he once asked me if I should ever be dismayed ~~at~~ the vicissitudes of his destiny. I still see his eyes beaming upon ~~me~~ with delight, ~~and~~ I replied ~~that~~ ~~he~~ might ~~be~~ himself I ~~shall~~ always passionately enjoy his triumphs, and never heave ~~a~~ sigh ~~at~~ his defeats. What I said to him then, I have proved; what I promised, I will perform. I am anxious and uneasy on account of the obstacles, ~~the~~ vexations, the struggles, and dangers he will find in his path; but in spite of all, I am confident and content, for he ~~is~~ both. My life, besides, is not broken up, ~~and~~ when he ~~is~~ minister of ~~the~~ Interior. I ~~see~~ him much ~~more~~ than I desire, but still I see him. My chamber adjoins ~~the~~ cabinet. ~~He~~ is quite well, although he works incessantly. Moreover, his present ~~position~~ is agreeable ~~to~~ him. He ~~enjoys~~ himself again, with much pleasure, in ~~the~~ midst of the companions and avocations of ~~his~~ youth. Public instruction relieves him from politics in

general. This is a great advantage. In conclusion, my dear friend, if God spares me and each other, I shall always be, in the midst of every trial and apprehension, the happiest of beings."

Within less than three months from the date of my letter, on the 11th of January, 1833, my wife presented me with a son, her most ardent desire in the midst of her happiness, and the object, enjoyed but for a moment, of her young maternal pride. Eleven days after her lying-in, she got up, with a loss of confidence, in which all around her participated. M. Royer-Collard happened to call upon me. She insisted on seeing him, and conversed gaily. On leaving the house, he said to me, "She is quite well, but take care of her nevertheless. The spirit is stronger than the body. She is one of those heroic natures who never suspect evil until it has conquered them." Three days after, she was attacked by fever, and compelled to leave her bed. Within six weeks, on the 11th of March, I had to mourn her loss.

It is with heavy calamity as with happiness: we can neither speak of it, nor remain absolutely silent. I hastened to resume my labours, and returned to the cabinet Councils and the Chambers as soon as I could do so with propriety and effect. Every day, when my public duties were over, I remained alone with my children, my mother, and with the Duchess of Broglie, whose sympathetic friendship I found under this trial extremely soothing and acceptable. M. Royer-Collard came occasionally to see me; I enjoyed his conversation, without replying to him, and without

any observations on his part relative to myself. Towards the end of the following July, while he was residing on his estate at Châteauneuf, I wrote him, without doubt under a fit of bitter grief, and with self-command than I had ever before exhibited. He answered me: "Your letter, my dear friend, has not simply affected me; it has carried me along with you into the same abyss in which you were plunged. I miscalculated its depth. The empire you have over yourself, and which seemed to control not only your feelings but your words, without entirely deceiving me, had in some degree checked my penetration. I understand the reason you are in as much as it is possible to do so, not having closely estimated the full extent of your happiness. I know enough to sympathise with your feelings and your situation. I feel confident that time, far from turning them to despair, will, without eradicating or falsifying them, at least render them supportable. You have before you a long life, the education of your children, a career scarcely open, which you may do honour to by services rendered to the cause of humanity. These are powerful incentives to divert you from your grief. You will admit them by degrees, and allow them to operate. Although my position differs as much from yours as the close of day from the full meridian, it resembles it in this—that I live like you, and for a much longer time, in perfect solitude, thinking much of the past, very little of the future, scarcely dealing with the present, and reviewing silently my wasted life, wherein I find much instruction, from which I shall draw no profit."

This letter, so sympathetic and encouraging, produced a favourable effect, and even now I cannot re-peruse it without emotion. It was written on the 10th of August, 1821.

It was a propitious circumstance for me at this epoch, when the bill on elementary education passed into the order of the day, and thus demanded my assiduous attention. In assuming the ministry of Public Instruction, I took a special interest in that particular branch. Because I have opposed democratic theories, and resisted popular passions, it has been often said that I have no love for the people, no sympathy for their miseries, instincts, necessities, and desires. In public, as in private life, there is no truer love of affections than one. What is called love for the people means, to participate in all their impressions, to study their feelings rather than their interests, to be on all occasions ready to think, feel, and act with them, — I admit that these forms are part of my disposition. I love the people with a profound, but at the same time independent and somewhat anxious attachment. I wish to serve them, but am more disposed to become their slave than to use them for any advantage but their own. I respect while I love them, and this very respect restrains me from deceiving them, from aiding them to deceive themselves. Sovereignty is yielded up to them; complete happiness is promised; they are told that they have a right to all the powers of society, and all the enjoyments of life. I have believed that they had the right and necessity of becoming capable and worthy of being free; that is to

say, **the** exercising in their public and private allotment **the** ~~the~~ of influence **the** ~~the~~ the **the** of God permit to **the** in human **the** ~~the~~ society. For this **the**, while sympathising deeply **the** ~~the~~ physical privations of the people, I have been more pre-eminently moved and engrossed by their moral wants; holding **the** for certain that, in proportion as the latter **the** ameliorated, they will struggle the more effectually against the former; and that **the** improve the condition of men we must **the** purify, strengthen, and enlighten their minds.

It is to **the** strong conviction of **the** truth that the importance universally attached to popular teaching in the present day is to be ascribed. Other instincts, less pure and salutary, are mixed up with it: pride, **the** presumptuous confidence in the merit and power of intelligence alone, immeasurable ambition, and the passion of **the** pretended equality. But in spite of this confusion in the sentiments by which **the** is **the** mended, in spite of **the** intrinsic difficulties, and of **the** uneasiness it still excites, popular teaching is not the less, in the age in which we live, and both on principles of right and fact, **the** act of justice towards the people, and a necessary requisition of society. During his mission in Germany, one of those **the** who have the **the** profoundly studied **the** great question, M. Eugène Rendu, inquired **the** **the** learned and respectable prelate, **the** Cardinal de Diepenbrock, Prince Bishop of Breslau, "whether, according **the** his idea, **the** **the** sion of education amongst **the** **the** would produce any danger **the** society." "Never," replied **the** Cardinal, "if religious feeling assigns to education **the** proper **the**

and governs the course. The question which, the question is no longer in debate; it is distinctly laid down. When the waggon is on the rails, what remains? To guide it."

In 1832, there was something more for us to do than merely to guide the waggon. It was necessary to give it effective and durable motion. When we examine closely what has taken place between 1789 and 1832, in regard to elementary education, we are equally impressed with the power of the idea and the futility of the efforts made to realize it. It engages the attention of all who govern, we aspire to govern France. When eclipsed for a moment, it is only under the pressure of more urgent prepossessions, and speedily reappears. It finds its way to the hearts of the parties and authorities who were to fear it most. Between 1792 and 1795, the National Convention issued several decrees for the establishment of preparatory schools, prescribing their system and regulation; empty words, barren of produce, though sincerely meant. The Empire said and thought little of rudiments; secondary instruction was the favourite object of its solicitude and its superintendence. Nevertheless, we encounter it in the Imperial councils, unassuming in rank, but of a mind and reputation sufficiently exalted to draw public attention to its aims and ideas, whatever might be their object. M. Cuvier travelled through Holland, Germany, and Italy, and on his return, described the public educational establishments he visited, particularly the elementary schools of Holland, the sound practical

organization of which **the** strongly impressed him. A lively interest **was** immediately excited in favour **of** **the** schools, which led **to** much reflection, **and** **the** **and** regretful comparisons. The Empire fell ; **the** Restoration succeeded ; **the** great political **revolution** commenced : **the** in the midst of their clamour, **the** government of public instruction passed into the hands of men who sincerely desired the good **of** **the** people without undue adulation. M. Royer-Collard became director ; M. Cuvier exercised **an** important influence. They applied themselves **to** the increase, improvement, and effective superintendence of elementary schools. The King issued decrees commanding and regulating the co-operation of local authorities and sympathies. The Council of Public Instruction carried **on** **an** unremitting correspondence **to** insure the execution of these ordinances. New methods **were** announced in Europe with considerable stir ; mutual teaching and simultaneous teaching—the systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster. Some minds **were** excited to enthusiasm, others **in** uneasiness. Without taking any decided part, either in adoption **or** denial, the Council received, **and** encouraged, and superintended all.

Political power changed hands, passing **from** **the** party **who** distrusted **the** **the** impulse ; **and** while they humoured **the** suspicions, and made **the** concessions **to** the demands of their adherents, **the** intelligent leaders of this party had no desire to be looked upon as enemies **of** national education. They **used** **the** **the** force **which** therein comprised which would **have** **been** **the** strangled, and endeavoured, by concession, to turn it **into**

their ~~own~~ advantage. Between 1821 and 1826, eight royal decrees, countersigned by ~~M.~~ Corbière, minister of ~~the~~ Interior, authorized, in fourteen departments, religious associations, honestly devoted to elementary instruction, and ~~the~~ established, in point of fact, ~~a~~ certain number of ~~new~~ schools. The Brethren of Christian Instruction, founded in Brittany by the Abbé J. M. de ~~la~~ Mennais; the Brethren of Christian Doctrine of Strasbourg, Nancy, and Valence; ~~the~~ Brethren of ~~St.~~ Joseph, in the department of ~~the~~ Somme; the Brethren of Christian Instruction of the Holy Spirit, in five departments of the west, all date from, ~~and~~ reflect honour ~~on~~ this period. Another political shock carried back the government of France into other ranks. The Martignac ministry replaced the Villèle cabinet. One of the first ~~acts~~ of the ~~new~~ minister of Public Instruction, M. de Vatimesnil, ~~was~~ not only to confer additional encouragement on ~~the~~ elementary schools, but ~~to~~ ~~improve~~ ~~in~~ their administration the decrees called forth by M. Cuvier in 1816 and 1820. The ~~great~~ crisis of the Restoration approached; ~~an~~ evil genius prevailed in its general politics. Called in November 1820 ~~to~~ the cabinet of the Prince ~~de~~ Polignac, ~~a~~ minister of Public Instruction, M. Guernon de Ranville proposed, nevertheless, excellent measures for the extension of elementary schools, and ~~the~~ introduction of ~~a~~ superior ~~number~~ of teachers. He was met by doubts, objections, and timid but repeated resistance. He persisted, however, ~~and~~ ~~on~~ ~~his~~ request, ~~the~~ King, ~~Charles~~ X., signed a decree, remarkable, ~~not~~ only for ~~its~~ practical ~~value~~ conditions, but for the official expression of ~~the~~ ideas ~~of~~

sentiments by which they were accompanied. It may be said that from 1814 to 1830, elementary instruction suffered nothing from political attacks, but that it was completely perish in the dangerous struggle. Whether from equity or prudence, the very powers that suspected the intentions of the people upon a view of it with a kindly eye, and to second its progress.

The government of 1830 was bound to be, and proved itself, from its origin, highly favourable to elementary instruction. M. Barthe, under the ministry of M. Laffitte, and M. de Montalivet, under that of M. Casimir Périer, hastened to bring forward, one in the Chamber of Peers, the other in the Chamber of Deputies, bills to promote the rapid increase of primary schools, bestowing upon them securities for the future, and infusing into this new stage of instruction the liberty promised by the Charter. The government and the chambers vied with each other in the promotion of this object. At the moment when these bills were introduced, two spontaneous propositions emanated from the Chamber of Deputies, conceived in principles differing in some degree, but inspired by the same spirit and leading to a uniform design. M. Dauncou drew up a report on one of the bills, distinguished by profoundly liberal feeling, a language skilfully measured, and a visible dislike, though at the same time discreetly restrained, to the Imperial University. But none of these bills were subjected even to debate. The government stamped, the obstacles swept away, the public impatient to see elementary education finally established. When the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, as-

sumed office, the work was on all sides demanded, and solemnly promised, but scarcely yet in operation.

I had around me in the Royal Council of Public Instruction all the lights and supports I could possibly desire for my full accomplishment. Invested in letters, in science, and in the world's opinion, with that authority so liberally conceded, which superior talent and long experience confer, the members of the Council were, moreover, my literary associates and friends. We lived in close and mutual intimacy. Whatever might be the difference of our studies and labours, we had all, on the subject of national education, the same aims and desires. M. Villemain and M. Cousin, M. Poisson and M. Thénard, M. Guéneau de Mussy and M. Rendu, engaged with as much interest as myself in the same work, were preparing together. M. Cousin, during his travels in Germany in 1831, and in the able report published on his return, had studied and carefully laid down all the incidental questions. I doubt if they were more seriously debated than in my private council before the introduction of the bill.

The first point, and one which, not only in my estimation, but in that of many sound thinkers, still remains undecided, was, whether the elementary instruction of all children should be a legal obligation imposed by the law on their parents, and supported by specific penalties in case of neglect, as adopted in Prussia and in the greater portion of the German States. I have nothing to say in respect to the countries where this rule has been long established, and acknowledged by national sentiment. There it has certainly produced

beneficial results. But I must observe that it is almost exclusively confined to nations hitherto exacting upon the question of liberty, and that it has originated with those with whom, through the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the civil power is still in contact of religion, or touching upon religious interests, the sovereign authority. The proud susceptibility of free peoples, and the strong mutual independence of temporal and spiritual power, would accommodate themselves badly to the coercive action of the state on the domestic economy of families: where not sanctioned by tradition, the laws would fail to introduce it, and either they would be confined to an empty command, or to compel obedience they would have recourse to proscriptions and inquisitorial searches, hateful to attempt, and almost impossible to execute, especially in a great country. The National Convention tried, or rather decreed this, in 1793, and amongst all its acts of tyranny, this, at least, remained without effect.

Popular instruction is at present, in England, whether on the part of national and municipal authorities, or of simple citizens, the object of persevering zeal and exertion. No one proposes to enforce the obligation on parents by law. The system prospers in the United States of America, where local governments and private societies make great sacrifices to increase and improve the schools; but no attempt is made to intrude into the bosoms of families to recruit the scholars by compulsion. It forms a characteristic and redounds to the honour of a free people, that they are at all times confiding and patient; that they

rely on the empire of enlightened and well-understood interests, and know how to wait their turn. I have little for regulations that bear the impress of the convent or the barrack-room. I therefore decidedly expunged constraint from my bill on elementary education, and none of my fellow-labourers insisted on its being retained, not even those who regretted the omission.

Next to the question of compulsory elementary education, came that of free primary instruction. Here, indeed, there could be no doubt. The Charter had promised liberty on this point, and it was not in regard to the principles of instruction that the promise could give rise to opposite interpretations or lengthened disputes. No one thought of demanding that elementary education should be entirely committed to private industry, evidently incapable of furnishing the necessary supply, and I was tempted to undertake it. The labour is immense, and without brilliant perspectives. The interference of the State here becomes indispensable. A free competition between the government and private individuals, private and public schools opened side by side, and under the same regulations, comprised all that the most exacting liberals required, and produced no opposition from the staunchest supporters of power.

A third question gave rise to more discussion. In our public schools, should elementary instruction be absolutely gratuitous and supplied by the State to all children of the soil? This was the dream of generous spirits. Under the constitution of 1791, the Constituent

Assembly had decreed "a system of public instruction should be created and organized, common to every citizen, and gratuitous with regard to those branches of education indispensable to all men." The National Convention, while maintaining this principle, fixed the salaries of the teachers at a minimum of 1500 francs. Experience has proved the vanity of these promises, and they are impracticable. The law bound us to offer elementary instruction to all families, and to give it to those who have not the means of paying for it; and thus it does more for the moral life of the people than it can effect for their material condition. This I consider the true principle of the question, and this I adopted in my bill.

These general and in some degree preliminary points being disposed of, there remained others of a more special character, the solution of which formed the basis and scope of the bill. What were to be the objects and limits of elementary instruction? How were the public institutions to be formed and recruited? What authorities were to be charged with the superintendence of the elementary schools? What should be the means and securities for the effective execution of the law?

Amongst the feelings which may animate a nation there is one, the absence of which would be much to be deplored if it existed not, but which we should like more neither to flatter nor excite where we find it in exercise,—the sentiment of ambition. I honour aspiring spirits. Much may be expected from them provided they easily attempt what they desire to accomplish. And in our days, of all ambitions the most noble is

the apparent, especially amongst the industrial classes, the ambition of intelligence, from which they seek for gratifications of self-love and the means of fortune—it is that, above all others, the development of which, while we treat it with indulgence, we should watch over and direct with unceasing care. I know nothing so present so injurious to society, or more hurtful to the people themselves, than the small amount of ill-directed popular erudition, and the vague, incoherent, and false, although at the same time active and powerful ideas with which it fills their heads.

To contend with this danger, I distinguished in my proposed bill two degrees of primary education. The first elementary and universally required in the most remote rural districts, and for the humblest of social conditions; the other more elevated, and destined for the working population, who in towns and cities have to deal with the necessities and tastes of civilization more complicated, wealthy, and exacting. I confined elementary instruction strictly within the simplest and most extensively practised branches of knowledge. To the primary instruction of a higher order, I assigned greater scope and variety, and while pre-arranging its principal objects, the bill added, "that it might receive the development which should be considered suitable, according to the nature and necessities of particular localities." I thus secured the most extended advances in primary instruction where they would be most useful and natural, without introducing them in quarters where their inutility would be perhaps their least defect. The Chamber of Deputies required that the prospect of a

variable indefinite extension should be left open primary elementary instruction as well primary superior instruction. I did not myself bound contend obstinately against amendment, which met with almost general approbation; but it indicated very slight conception of the end proposed in bill by distinguishing the two degrees of primary education. It precisely account of universal necessity primary elementary instruction ought to be extremely simple and nearly always uniform. It enough for social distinctions and the spirit of ambition in popular teaching open schools in the class of a superior order. A disposition to extend, from a idea rather than from absolute need, the first principles of instruction, unworthy of legal encouragement. The object of the laws is to provide what is necessary, not step in advance of what may become possible; their mission is regulate the elements of society, to excite them indiscriminately.

The education of the teachers themselves is evidently a most important point in a law for popular instruction. To this, I adopted, without hesitation, system of primary normal schools commenced in France in 1810, and which already, in 1833, numbered forty-establishments of nature, created by the voluntary of the departments towns, and encouraged by the government. I formed them into a general and compulsory institution. In the state, and with the essentially character of present society, this the only method of securing all times a number of elementary

instruction, properly ~~adapted~~ to their required duties. It furnishes, moreover, an intellectual ~~medium~~ to those ~~classes~~ of the population who have little before them ~~but~~ entry into life beyond employments of physical labour, and introduces a moral influence amongst large communities, over whom, in the present day, power seldom ~~was~~ except by tax-gatherers, commissaries of police, and gend'armes. Undoubtedly the education of the ~~masses~~ in the normal schools in which they ~~are~~ trained, and their influence when they ~~are~~ thus trained, may be defective ~~and~~ injurious: there is an institution, however good in itself, which, ill-directed, may not turn out evil, and which, ~~under~~ under sound regulation, is exempt from inconvenience and danger. But this is no ~~more~~ than the common condition of all human undertakings; and not ~~more~~ would ever be accomplished if we did not resign ourselves to the acceptance of its faults, and to the necessity of unremitting watchfulness ~~over~~ the ~~same~~ should ~~occupy~~ the field and choke the grain.

While converting ~~these~~ elementary normal schools into a public and legalised institution, I was far from seeking to destroy or ~~more~~ to weaken the other nurseries of teachers supplied by religious associations dedicated to popular education. On the contrary, I desired also ~~that~~ the ~~same~~ ~~should~~ extensively develop themselves, and that a wholesome competition should be ~~maintained~~ between them and the laical seminaries. I even wished to go a step beyond, and to confer on the religious ~~institutions~~ so employed a special mark of confidence and respect. In the greater part of the royal ordinances issued between 1821 and 1830, for the establishment of

associations of this nature, and more particularly of the Congregation for the advancement of Christian Knowledge, founded by the Abbé de Mennais in the departments of Brittany; another under the same denomination at Valence, and for the Brethren of St. Joseph, in the department of the Somme, it provided "the certificate of capability required from all elementary teachers should be delivered to every brother of these various congregations, on sight of the particular letter of obedience transmitted to him by the superior general of the establishment to which he belonged." It appeared to me that in the release from a fresh examination accorded to the members of religious societies, formally acknowledged and authorized by the popular teachers, there was nothing beyond what was perfectly just and consistent, and I would readily have inserted it in my bill; but it would have been assuredly rejected by the public of that day as well as by the Chambers. The debate that sprang up when we went into an examination of the authorities to be intrusted with the superintendence of the elementary schools, clearly indicated the prevailing spirit.

The state and the church, the question of popular instruction, the only effective authorities. This is a conjecture on general considerations; it is historically demonstrated. The only countries and times in which public education really prospered have been those where the church and state, in conjunction, have considered the advancement of their business and duty. Holland and Germany, whether Catholic or Protestant, and the United States

of America, may be readily cited as evidences. The accomplishment of a similar work requires the ascendancy of general and permanent power, such as that of the state and its enactments; or of another moral authority equally present and equally enduring,—the church and its militia.

But while the action of the church and the indispensable the and establishment of public education, it becomes equally important, to render such education really good and socially profitable, that this action should be profoundly religious. It is not that religious instruction should merely take place there, and outward practices be observed. A nation is not religiously educated in such limited and mechanical conditions. Popular education ought to be given and received in the bosom of a religious atmosphere, in order that corresponding impressions and habits may penetrate from every side. Religion is not a study or an exercise to which a particular place or hour can be assigned. It is a faith, a law which ought to make its influence everywhere and at all times; and on no other condition can it exercise the full force of its salutary influence on the minds and actions of men.

Thus, in elementary schools, the sentiment of religion ought to be habitually present. If the priest mistrusts and separates from the tutor, or if the tutor looks upon himself as an independent rival, not the faithful auxiliary of the priest, the moral value of the school is lost, and it is on the verge of becoming a danger.

When I presented my bill, and was expected

rience had imparted to my mind its valuable light, I
 felt thoroughly convinced of these truths. They had
 regulated my labours ; although from an instinctive
 estimate of public prejudices I adopted and applied
 them with circumspection. ■ upon the pre-
 ponderating and combined action of church and state
 ■ I relied for the establishment of elementary instruc-
 tion. Now, the prevailing fact I encountered in the
 Chamber of Deputies and in the country ■ large ■
 precisely a sentiment of suspicion and almost of hostility
 against both. In the schools they dreaded above all
 things ■ influence of the priests and of the central
 power. The principal object of solicitude ■ ■ pro-
 tect beforehand, and by legal enactment, the free action
 of the municipal authorities, and the total independence
 of the tutors in reference to the clergy. The opposition
 openly advocated that system, and the conservative
 party, too often governed in their inmost feelings and
 almost unconsciously, by the very ideas they dread,
 combated it without energy. I had proposed that ■
 ■ ■ pastor should by right be a member of the
 committee appointed in every township ■ superintend
 the school, and that the minister of Public Instruction
 should hold the exclusive appointment of the ■
 In ■ Chamber of Deputies both these provisions ■
 thrown out in ■ first debate, and it required the vote
 of ■ Chamber of Peers and my ■ perseverance in ■
 second discussion ■ secure their retention in the ■
 There seemed to ■ considerable uneasiness ■ ■ the
 spirit that might possess ■ tutors. Much ■ ■ on
 ■ necessity of placing them under effectual control,

and great [redacted] made [redacted] weaken [redacted] remove altogether from [redacted] schools the interference of church or [redacted]; in fact, [redacted] away [redacted] only authorities capable of rooting out the pernicious seeds which [redacted] [redacted] had planted there with overflowing hands.

Notwithstanding these combats and mistaken objections, I had [redacted] right, if I speak candidly, [redacted] complain in [redacted] particular instance, either of the Chambers [redacted] the public. The [redacted] on elementary education was received, discussed, [redacted] carried favourably, without material alteration. There remained only the great trial under which [redacted] preceding laws on this question [redacted] given way. How was it to be carried out?

It required two distinct modes of proceeding;—administrative and moral measures. It was necessary that [redacted] provisions of the act, for the creation, maintenance, and superintendence of the schools, and for the [redacted] dition of the tutors, should become substantial and permanent facts. It was equally essential that the [redacted] themselves should be fully imbued with [redacted] understanding and spirit of the law of which they [redacted] [redacted] become [redacted] final [redacted] [redacted] [redacted].

With regard to administrative [redacted], the law had foreseen and provided [redacted] most essential. Not [redacted] fining itself to ordaining in every township throughout the kingdom the establishment of elementary schools, [redacted] primary or superior, it had decreed [redacted] [redacted] suit- [redacted] residence should in all places [redacted] provided for the teachers; [redacted] [redacted] that when the ordinary revenues of [redacted] [redacted] might be found insufficient, [redacted] necessary provision [redacted] be levied by two special and compulsory

taxes,—one to be voted by the municipal councils, and the other by the general councils of the department; or, in default of these votes, by a royal decree. If even these local imposts should prove inadequate, the minister of Public Instruction was empowered to make up the deficiency by a grant drawn from the credit annually carried to the account of elementary education in the state budget. The permanent existence of the schools and the means of supplying their natural wants were thus secured, independently of the intelligence and zeal of the populations for whose benefit they were instituted, while at the same time the central power could never find itself disarmed in presence of their evil designs or apathy.

An obstacle of considerable weight opposed itself to the effectual and regular execution of these arrangements. They required the co-operation of the general government of the state, represented in the several localities by the prefects and their subordinates; and the system of special superintendents of public education, embodied in the rectors and functionaries of the University. Every one knows how difficult it is to unite together for one common object a double series of public agents, exercising opposite duties and acting under different laws. After coming to an understanding on these points with M. Thiers, at that time minister of the Interior, I addressed the following instructions to the prefects and rectors, explaining to all their particular duties in the execution of the new law, and the conditions under which they were to act in concert. I went a step beyond this. At the instance it was suggested in a

cabinet Council, that elementary instruction should constitute annually, in each department, the object of a special budget, to be included in the general estimate of supply for that department; and which should also, every year, be separated from it, and forwarded to the minister of Public Instruction for his examination, when the general budget was submitted to the secretary of the minister of the Interior.

I hereby accomplished a double end. On the one hand, I placed, in every locality, primary instruction, its necessities, resources, and expenditure, apart and in full relief; thus constituting it a real and permanent local institution, invested with rights, and the object of special superintendence. On the other hand, while securing for elementary education the co-operation of the general government, I connected it closely with the duties of the minister of Public Instruction, the first step in the comprehensive scheme which the genius of the Emperor Napoleon founded under the title of *University of France*, the grandeur and harmony of which I ardently desired to maintain by adapting it to the French system, and to the general principles of French government.

I could never have carried out this somewhat complicated design, had I not found in M. Thiers that enlargement of mind and devotion to the public good which silence the suspicious rivalries of office, and the influence of personal jealousies. He acceded frankly to the trifling alterations I proposed in the routine of the ministry of the Interior, and facilitated this action in our respective departments, which

the law on elementary education required for its prompt complete success.

Eight days after the formation of the cabinet, as soon as I began to occupy myself with this bill, and to prepare it for the Royal Council, as also for its future agents, I ordered a periodical list to be drawn up under the title of *General Manual of Primary Instruction*, with the view of placing at once under the eyes of the teachers, administrators, and inspectors of schools, the facts, documents, and ideas, which might interest or enlighten them. When the bill passed, I arranged and published guides to the teachers in the restricted limits of instruction, the limits and objects of which were expressly indicated. I lost time in providing for the intellectual wants of these schools and their masters, whose material necessities, if fully satisfied, were at least protected from destitution and oblivion.

The best laws, instructions, and books, avail but little, if the hearts of the parties charged with their promulgation are not interested in the mission confided to them; and if they do not second it with a certain amount of enthusiasm and energy. I neither undervalue legislative labour nor the mechanism of administration. Though insufficient, they are not the less necessary. They are the plans and scaffoldings of the building to be constructed; but the workmen, the intelligent devoted artificers, are infinitely more important. Above all other considerations, I have formed and adapted to the service of ideas, I wish to convert the latter into real and living facts. I endeavoured

penetrate even to the very soul of popular teachers, and excite amongst them enlightened notions and an affectionate respect for the work in which they were called. Within three weeks after the first elementary education had been published, I forwarded it directly to 39,300 masters of schools, accompanied by a letter in which I not only explained to them the bearings and conditions, but endeavoured also to raise their feelings to the moral level of their humble position in the social scale, without suggesting to them either a pretext or a temptation for soaring above it. I required them to acknowledge to me personally the receipt of this letter, and to state the impression it had left on their minds. Thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty answers reached me in reply, many of which led me to conclude that I had not always knocked in vain at the doors of these unpretending abodes, where thousands of obscure children were destined to receive from an unknown individual, the first, and in many instances, the only scholastic lessons of their lives. This experiment, joined to others, has taught me, that when we wish to act with more than ordinary power upon men, we ought to be afraid of pointing out to them an object, or of addressing them in a language, above their situation and habits; neither should we feel discouraged if many amongst them fail to respond to these unaccustomed invitations. They possess a far greater number of minds than they repulse, and we may well believe in the virtue of the seed, even when the fruit fail to appear.

When I conceived the idea of this circular letter to the teachers, I mentioned it to M. Rémusat, who begged

him to draw it up for me. As I received it from him, it was despatched to its destination and soon after published. It gratifies me to repeat this here. True friendships survive mental weakness and the troubles of life, even when they seem to have suffered from them.¹

Another plan, unforeseen and difficult of execution, appeared to me necessary in order to ascertain relations with the teachers dispersed throughout France, to know them really, and to act upon them in other ways than by casual and empty words. One month after the promulgation of the new law, I ordered a general inspection of all the elementary schools in the kingdom, public and private. I desired not only to verify the external and material facts which usually form the object of statistical inquiries on the question of primary instruction,—such as the number of schools and scholars, their classification, their age, and the incidental expenses of the service,—but I particularly directed the inspectors to study the interior economy of the schools, the aptitude, zeal, and conduct of the teachers, their relations with the pupils, the families, and the local authorities, civil and religious; in a word, the moral state of that branch of education, and its results. Some of its nature cannot be ascertained at a distance, by means of correspondence, or descriptions. Special visits, personal communication, and a close examination of men and things are indispensable to this just estimate and understanding. Four hundred and ninety persons, a greater number of whom were functionaries of every order in the University, gave themselves up during four months

¹ *Historic Documents*, No. II.

arduous investigation. Thirty-three thousand four hundred and fifty-six actually visited, and morally described in the reports addressed to me by the inspectors. One amongst the number, with whose rare ability and indefatigable zeal I long been familiar, M. Lorain, honorary rector, drew up from these collected reports a Table of elementary instruction in France, in 1833, more remarkable for the moral and practical views therein developed, than for the number and variety of schools comprised. This laborious undertaking not only had the effect of giving me a complete and precise knowledge of the condition and real necessities of elementary instruction, but it furnished the public, in the most remote corners of the country, with a living instance of the active solicitude of the government for popular education. At the same time it powerfully stimulated the teachers, by impressing on them a sense of the interest attached to their office, and of the vigilance with which they were overlooked.

Two years later, on my proposition, a royal decree transformed the casual and single inspection of the elementary schools into a permanent arrangement. In every district, an inspector was appointed to visit the schools at regular periods, and to communicate fully to the minister, the rectors, the prefects, and the general and municipal councils, their condition and progress. From that time, and throughout repeated debates, whether in the Chambers or in the local elective councils, the utility of the institution became so apparent, that at the request of a majority of the councils, an inspector has been appointed in every district,

the periodical inspection of elementary schools taken its place in the administration of public instruction of effective guarantees of their sufficiency and progress.¹

It has sometimes been a mistake of power when it is an important work to wish to carry it alone, and to mistrust liberty as a rival if not as an enemy. I had no such suspicion. On the contrary, I was convinced that the co-operation of unfettered zeal, particularly religious zeal, was indispensable, for the progress of popular teaching for sound direction. There were generous impulses in the laical world, emotions of moral ardour which assist the advancement of great public undertakings; but the spirit of Christian charity and faith alone carry into such works complete disinterestedness, that disposition and habit of self-sacrifice, that modest perseverance, which secure while they purify success. For this reason I took great pains to defend the religious societies dedicated to elementary education, against the prejudices and ill-feeling by which they were so often attacked. I not only protected them in their liberty, but I assisted them in their wants, looking upon them as the honourable rivals and the auxiliaries that civil authority in its efforts to promote popular education could expect to be associated with. I owe them the justice of declaring that notwithstanding the suspicious susceptibility which these pious brotherhoods naturally bore towards the new government, and a Pro-Testant minister, they soon acquired full confidence in

¹ Historic Documents, No. III.

the sincerity of the good will I exhibited towards them, and acted with me in the most amicable spirit. When the law of the 10th of June, 1833, was under debate in the Chambers, I mark distinctly the mutual understanding, and to give the principal of these communities, the brethren of Christian Doctrine, a public token of esteem, I directed an inquiry to be made of Brother Anacleto, their superior-general, whether according to the statutes of the fraternity he was permitted to receive the cross of honour. He replied by the following letter, which I have much pleasure in preserving:

"SIR AND MINISTER,

"THE proposal so complimentary to our order which M. Delabecque conveyed to me yesterday on the part of your Excellency, has impressed me with a lively sense of gratitude, and has convinced me more and more of the truly paternal benevolence with which the government deigns to honour us.

"Our holy institutor has inserted nothing in our rules which formally interdicts acceptance of the offer you have made to our goodness to make, without any merit on our part, simply because he could not possibly foresee that his humble disciples would ever have an opportunity of declining such a flattering proposition. But looking at the spirit of our laws, which all lead to inspire estrangement from the world, and a total renunciation of all honours and distinctions, we find ourselves called upon humbly to thank your Excellency for the distinguished offer you have conveyed to us, and to accept still our refusal our excuses and thanks. We shall not be less

preserve as long as we live a grateful remembrance of your inestimable goodness, and we shall loudly, as is our daily practice, testify our testimonies of kind feeling and protection we so continually receive from the King's government, and especially from the Minister of Public Instruction and the members of the Royal Council."

Another religious society, the congregation of Christian Instruction, founded in Brittany by the Abbé J. M. La Mennais, particularly attracted my attention and support. The name of the founder, his mind so simple and cultivated, his entire devotion to his work, his practical ability, his independence of all party, the frankness of his intercourse with the civil powers,—in fact, everything connected with his character, inspired me with unsuspicious sympathy, to which he responded by an inviting, of his own accord (rare confidence in an ecclesiastic), the inspection of his schools. On the 3rd of May, 1834, he wrote me as follows: "When I had the honour of seeing you in the month of October last, you were so kind as to tell me that an inspector-general of the University would, on your part, visit my establishment of Ploërmel in 1834. I am anxious to witness the fulfilment of his obliging promise, but I am desirous of knowing what time he will come, for otherwise it is almost certain I would not find me here, owing to the continual journeys I am compelled to take at this season. It is, however, so important that I should see him, that I cannot but communicate of deep interest in the progress of elementary instruction in Brittany." Two years later, on the 15th of October, 1836, he furnished me

with a full account of the state of the institution, of the obstacles he encountered, of the insufficiency of his resources, of the wants he wished to supply; and finished by saying: "The minister of Marine instructed the Prefect of Morbihan to convey me the desire of having some of our brethren to instruct the enfranchised slaves of Martinique and Guadaloupe. I have said no, for it would be a beautiful and holy work; neither have I yet said yes, for the objection always recurs, where shall we find the materials of supplying so many wants, and why send our brethren so far off when we are so scantily supplied? . . . Alas! if I were only assisted as I desire!"

Every time that I met this honest and staunch Breton, a pious ecclesiastic and an ardent instructor of the people, exclusively devoted to his position and undertaking, my thoughts reverted mournfully towards his brother, that great but ill-regulated spirit, lost in his own passions, and confounded amongst the intellectual malefactors of his age; he who seemed born to be one of its severest guides. I have never known nor even seen Abbé Felicité de La Mennais; I am only acquainted with him through his writings, by what his friends have recorded, and by the bilious, repulsive, and unhappy portrait drawn of him by Ary Scheffer, the painter of the human heart. I admire as much any lofty and daring intelligence which rises to a pinnacle, plunges from thence to the extremest boundary of thought, wherever it may be; the grave and impassioned talent, brilliant and pure, stern and melan-

choly, elegantly severe, and sometimes touching in sadness. I feel convinced that he possessed within that soul, where pride wounded to [redacted] seemed [redacted] exercise [redacted] empire, many noble aspirations, upright desires, and painfully conflicting sentiments. In what [redacted] all [redacted] gifts eventuated? It will form one of [redacted] heaviest and [redacted] specious complaints against [redacted] in which [redacted] live, to have [redacted] reduced [redacted] lofty nature, and others of [redacted] similar [redacted] whom I abstain from naming, but who [redacted] under [redacted] observation have equally contributed [redacted] their self-abasement. Undoubtedly [redacted] fallen spirits [redacted] the agents of their own ruin; [redacted] they were also exposed [redacted] such [redacted] host of fatal temptations, they took part in [redacted] many seductive and tempestuous [redacted] they lived in such [redacted] total confusion of human thought, ambition, and destiny, they achieved such easy and brilliant triumphs by their very wanderings, and by flattering [redacted] passions and errors of the day,—that [redacted] scarcely [redacted] surprise when [redacted] mark the growth of the evil seeds that finally [redacted] powered them. For my own part, while contemplating these [redacted] men, my illustrious and ill-fated contemporaries, I [redacted] sorrow than anger, and implore pardon for them, [redacted] the very moment when, in my heart, I cannot abstain from pronouncing [redacted] severe condemnation on their works and their influence.

I return now [redacted] elementary education. On [redacted] 15th [redacted] April, 1834, within a year after the promulgation [redacted] the law of [redacted] of June, 1833, I communicated [redacted] the King the nature of [redacted] in a [redacted] report

including acts, documents, and results. I repeat here, in a few words and figures, such of the latter as can be conveyed. In the course of the year named, the number of primary schools for boys increased from 31,420 to 33,695, and the pupils actually receiving instruction from 1,200,715 to 1,654,828. In 1272 townships, school-houses had been built, purchased, or completely repaired. Fifteen elementary normal schools had been established. Thirteen years later, by the end of 1847, through the unremitting efforts of my successors in the department of Public Instruction, the number of elementary schools for boys had augmented from 33,695 to 43,514; that of the pupils from 1,654,828 to 2,176,079; and of the school-houses belonging to the townships, from 10,316 to 23,761. Seventy-six primary normal schools supplied masters to every department. I pass over in silence all that had either been begun or accomplished for girls' schools, asylums, work-rooms, and other establishments directly or indirectly affecting popular education.

Such at the end of fifteen years were the fruits of the law of the 17th of June, 1833, and of the movement, which I created, but which it undoubtedly directed to a real and effective institution.

The year 1840 subjected the law and all others, in common with the schools and France herself, to a terrible trial. As soon as the storm had subsided a little, a powerful reaction sprang up against primary instruction, as against liberty, movement, and progress. The elementary tutors were accused in a mass of being abettors of revolution. The im-

puted mischief was real, though less general than was said and believed. I inquired one day of a respectable and judicious bishop, who was well acquainted with the history and condition of the schools in some of our great departments, how many tutors, according to his opinion, had been imbued with the revolutionary spirit? "At least about one-fifth," he replied. A large proportion, much more so than is generally supposed, and symptomatic of a disease loudly demanding remedy. But how could this evil be expected to escape the schools when it prevailed universally? I have named the seeds of moral and political weakness which remained in the law, in spite of all my efforts to remove them, and in the entire system of elementary instruction. The natural and effectual influence of the church and the state have been much suspected and reduced. And when the Revolution exploded, the state itself, the public authorities of the day, excited the elementary teachers to become participators in all the dreams, and accomplices in all the incidental disorders. We blame institutions and laws for the mischief we have produced. We accuse them and exonerate ourselves, as the man who would do who demands and abandons his house after he has set fire to it with his own hands. Elementary instruction is not a sovereign panacea capable of curing every moral disease of a nation, nor all-sufficient for intellectual health. It is a salutary but pernicious ingredient, according to whether it is well directed; restrained within due bounds or carried beyond its proper scope. When a new and influential force, physical or moral, is introduced into the world, it must be expelled; and

must learn how to turn it to profitable account. If we fail to do this, we disseminate pell-mell, and in all directions, fertility and destruction. In our degree and present state of civilization, the education of the people has become an absolute necessity, and is equally indispensable and inevitable.

Public consciousness is evidently awake to this, for in the catastrophe which demonstrated the weak points of elementary instruction, and in the midst of the clamour excited on that subject, it has not been utterly thrown. Many have attacked it, but no one has advised, or believed in the possibility of its abolition. The law of the 28th of June, 1833, has received various modifications, some salutary, others questionable; but its principles and essential provisions have survived in their full vigour. Founded by that law, primary education is now, amongst us, a public institution and an acquired fact. Much, undoubtedly, remains yet to be done for the judicious government of the schools, to secure in their internal economy those influences of religion and order, of morality and law, which constitute the dignity and safety of a nation. But if, as I confidently trust, France has not condemned French society to exhaust itself, rudely and silently, in fruitless alternations of fever and forgetfulness, of licence and apathy, what remains to be done? The great work of popular education, will accomplish itself, and its completion will have been purchased at a costly price.

CHAPTER III.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

DIFFICULTY OF INTRODUCING THE PRINCIPLE OF LIBERTY INTO SECONDARY EDUCATION.—UNIVERSITY OF BOURGOGNE.—THE UNIVERSITY OF BORDEAUX.—THE UNIVERSITY OF NANTES.—THEIR INJUSTICE.—THEIR LEGITIMATE CAUSES IN THEIR POSITION.—THE UNIVERSITY OF ITS POSITION WITH THE REPUBLICAN STATE AND THE PRINCIPLE OF CATHOLICISM IN 1880.—DEMAND FOR LIBERTY OF INSTRUCTION.—M. DE MONTALEMBERT AND THE ABBÉ LACORDAIRE.—OPPOSING TENDENCIES IN THE UNIVERSITY FOR ITS RECONCILIATION WITH MODERN SOCIETY.—THE ABBÉ F. DE LA MENNAIE.—L'AVENIR.—JOURNEY OF THE ABBÉ DE LA MENNAIE, THE ABBÉ LACORDAIRE, AND M. DE MONTALEMBERT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BORDEAUX. XVI. CONDEMNES L'AVENIR.—THE UNIVERSITY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY.—WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A GOOD SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.—WHY AND THROUGH WHOM IT WAS PREPARED.—PREPARE A BILL UPON SECONDARY EDUCATION.—THE UNIVERSITY AND THE REPUBLIC.—IT WAS THE WORK OF M. SAINT-MARC GUERIN TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTES.—ON THE BILL.—M. DE LAMARTINE.

I HAD the same question to solve with respect to secondary as with primary education. Here again it was necessary to establish the freedom promised by the Charter. But though the duty was similar, the position was widely different. In elementary teaching everything had been founded, public establishments as well as individual rights. We had to secure national schools while we secured the liberty of private seminaries, and in this double labour, I encountered few adversaries or rivals. The institution of public schools was my great

mission. Authorized by the Charter, and in the name of a principle, the liberty of private instruction was neither demanded nor maintained by powerful interests and ardent passions. It was from the government especially that the people expected the accomplishment of their wishes. In the matter of elementary teaching, private enterprise had no privileges, but very limited pretensions and credit.

As regarded secondary instruction, on the contrary, I found myself engaged with a well-established establishment, thoroughly founded, systematic, complete, and in full activity; and also with the numerous and powerful rivals, I will not call them enemies, of that institution, passionately demanding full liberty of action for themselves. The freedom thus claimed presented itself as a new obstacle to the body against which it was directed, and one entirely opposed to their origin and constitutive principles. Founded in the spirit of the maxim that education belongs to the state, the University reposed on its double basis of privilege and absolute power. I was therefore called upon to introduce liberty to an institution where it had no natural existence, and to defend that institution, at the same time, against formidable assailants. This was, in fact, to preserve the University while opening its gates.

The University had two classes of opponents, almost equally distinct and determined. The liberals, who taxed it with despotism; and the devout, who branded it of irreligion. Its constitution, and I might even say its physiognomy, were repugnant to the former; they disliked the educating body which monopolized the

old corporations they had strenuously combated, and shrank from the forms and discipline which trained up the rising generation in the military system they detested in the state. The zealous Catholics had no confidence in the religious opinions of a great number of the members of the University. They regretted the old associations in which religion and education were closely linked together, and struggled to revive them and confide their children to their care. Several of these societies, in fact, were or had been disguised, had re-established themselves under the Restoration; and to insure their success, their partisans incessantly assailed the University, which they represented as being imbued with the irreligious spirit of the eighteenth century, and engaged in disseminating amongst the youth of the day, if not impiety, at least indifference.

In these attacks there was much injustice and some ingratitude. The government of the University, whether Head Master or General Council, Minister or President, had always exercised its power with signal moderation. At the same time rival and controller of all private establishments of secondary instruction, it had superintended them without jealousy or severity, sanctioning them wherever there appeared a prospect of legitimate progress and without powerful means aiming a blow at their stability or liberty. In the midst of general despotism, and despotically instituted itself, the University exhibited a just and liberal administration.

It was also an administration sincerely anxious to maintain the rights and interests of religion. If the Christian enemies of the University had gone back to

its origin; if the state in which it had found public instruction could have been replaced before their eyes; if they had recalled what it had done to arouse religious feeling in the rising generation; if they had chosen to remember the struggles it had endured, the obstacles it had surmounted, with this object in view; if they had been compelled to calculate the distance between the point of departure of the University in the paths of Christianity in 1808, and that which it had reached in 1830, I venture to say, their hearts would have acknowledged some compunctious regrets at having so completely passed over these important and palpable facts.

Connected with these facts we find the names of M. de Fontanes, the Cardinal de Beaussset, M. Royer-Collard, M. Cuvier, and the Abbé Frayssinous. Such were the men who from 1810 to 1830 were the principal heads of the University. They must be forgotten, too, before we can believe that under them that establishment was either tyrannical or iniquitous.

But passion even when sincere is seldom disposed to deal justly with past events and persons. It is with the present alone and its peculiar interests that it concerns itself. After 1830, setting aside the past, there was in the system and actual state of the University, serious and natural grounds amply sufficient to excite hostility and contest, either on the part of the liberals or the Catholics.

In fact, the government of the University was always been moderate; but in right, it was absolute, and founded on an absolute principle. "On the question of education the state exercises supreme control, beyond the family precincts. As early as the child, the state pur-

pose of education, from the hands of the father, falls into those of the state, which has the sole right of bringing up all who are not educated by their natural relatives; and the state can, without authority from the state, either assume this mission to himself, or receive it from the parents." Such a principle is virtually a political dictatorship, regards education, established at the threshold of the paternal domicile. On the morrow of a great revolutionary anarchy, and to escape from its consequences, every form of absolutism becomes possible, and perhaps necessary. But under constitutional government, in a free system, with acknowledged liberty of conscience, freedom of debate, and choice of profession,—dictatorship in educational matters, under whatever form it may present itself, and by what mitigations surrounded, could not fail to excite animated opposition from the liberals, who, in addition, possessed a recorded and incontestable claim against it in the provisions of the Charter.

It is impossible, moreover, to calculate how many abuses and secret grievances may spring up and subsist under the hand of the moderate despotism; and how often it shocks and deeply wounds the sensibilities it seems most anxious to conciliate. Suffering and indignation thus accumulate unexpectedly. Power requires an unclouded eye to have a correct knowledge of what it does, and is only by the light of freedom that it can justly appreciate the claims of its own subjects in their mutual operation on the public and on itself.

The position of the University was not less delicate in regard to religion than to liberty. Its government

had always fostered the religious sentiment. In the general system of instruction, in the choice of masters, in the daily exercises, religious objects and considerations had never occupied an important place. But the ruling incentive in this line of conduct was the advancement of social order rather than faith; reaction against revolutionary unbelief was stronger than the reaction towards Christian piety. Honest services were rendered to religion without expelling indifference from the soul. In the present day, it is a common conclusion that when the full exercise of the rites and ceremonies is secured to the church, when its temporal interests are provided for, and outward respect manifested, all has been done that could be desired, and that we have a right to expect in return everything that allies require from each other. A profound mistake. Religion is not content to be looked upon as an implement of order, and a great social advantage. She has a lofty idea of her delegated trust. She requires us to believe that her political associates are also faithful disciples, or at least, that they should understand and truly respect her divine character. And when not thoroughly convinced that these are the sentiments entertained towards her, the church stands upon reserve, and even while rigidly discharging her duties, withholds her devotedness.

Catholicism, moreover, was no longer, in 1830, in the position to which it had been reduced in the latter part of the 18th century, under the Consulate and the Empire. To live tranquilly, it no longer required the daily support of the civil authorities. It had

resumed ■ undisputed position in society, and great power ■ the public mind. It found itself in ■ condition ■ demand much ■ than security of worship. It ■ re-acquired living, exacting, and extended faith, intellectual activity, and confidence in ■ strength. Under the Restoration it had basked in royal favour, and ■ often obtained parliamentary influence. It reckoned amongst ■ believers and servants powerful and ■ intelligences, philosophers, orators, and writers of the highest rank. The Revolution of 1830, in depriving it of political preponderance, had opened ■ it the ■ of independence. On this it entered with daily advances, raising up ■ number of questions which religious indifference looked upon as extinct, and calling ■ its aid, not always in the right season, but ■ with effectual ardour, the partially forgotten alliance between the spirit of religion and the spirit of liberty.

It ■ particularly beyond the limits of the official church, amongst devout laics, and priests in no defined office, that this movement began ■ show itself; and ■ standard elevated ■ that of liberty of instruction. The privilege was demanded in the name of family rights, of the church, and of the Charter. It was ■ confined ■ demand alone. Two young men, sincere, enthusiastic, and full of talent, the ■ peer of France, the other a monk—the Count de Montalembert and the ■ Lacordaire—took upon themselves ■ exercise the right they claimed. They opened a public school without requiring any authority from the minister of Public Instruction, the Head ■ of the Univer-

sity. Accused of this ~~before~~ the Court of Peers in August, 1831, under the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, they were necessarily condemned, according to the laws in force; but ~~their~~ defence created a vivid sensation. They succeeded in disseminating and establishing with a respectable portion of the public the idea, the design, and the passion by which they were themselves animated. A struggle commenced, in the name of the church, with the highest power in the state, the great constitutional authorities.

The movement which fermented in Catholicism, exceeded this special conflict, and involved many questions beyond liberty of instruction. In conjunction with the spirit of reaction and submission which alone seemed present and powerful in the Catholic church, a new impulse, I will not say of reform, but rather of revival and progress, endeavoured to associate itself. Many Catholics, priests as well as laymen, convinced that religion could only resume its empire over men's minds, by the church more fully taking its full place in the state, turned their regrets and anxiously towards the old system. Others, more prudent and pacific, thought themselves that the church could not be better employed than in quietly occupying its position assigned to it under the new order of things; in seeking its strength and security in an alliance with the civil power, and in turning to its own profit, while accommodating itself to their vicissitudes, its necessity was by all the different governments of securing its co-operation in the maintenance of public order. But amongst the sincere ~~there~~ there were younger, more

sympathetic, and bolder spirits, who neither accorded with the retrograding ardour on the one side, nor the somewhat subordinate attitude on the other; who aspired to obtain for the church a more lofty and productive destiny. This section looked upon the old system as lost beyond return, and the present of society in France, its organization, ideas, and institutions as definitively victorious. In their judgment, the Catholic church was bound to accept these conditions openly, while demanding under the new law its independence, and a free participation in all liberties promised to the nation. Thus alone could it influence and moral efficacy, advance in concert with the reorganized society, instead of vainly attempting to throw it back into a broken mould, or of lowering itself to the position of the paid ally of power.

This idea included the presentiment of a great work to be accomplished, and an intelligent instinct of the higher interests as well as of the strength of religion and of the Christian church. Unfortunately no excellent man had at that time for its leading champion, no man of all others the least fitted to comprehend and serve it. The Abbé Felicite de La Mennais had commenced his career with notoriety, by attacking indistinctly the principles and tendencies of modern society, and by supporting the maxims and reminiscences of theocracy. He excited more surprise than confidence, when he was seen to demand all the privileges of liberty for the advantage of the church. He was suspected of seeking a means rather than an end,

and of a desire, through freedom, to elevate the church into a sovereign mistress. He speedily exhibited, I will not say his design, but rather his personal disposition; or, as it would have been expressed in other times, the inward demon that possessed him. A mind equally aspiring and superficial, a logician once blind and persuasive, singularly ignorant of history, capable of sublime perceptions and impulses, but unable to estimate actual and distinct facts, or to assign each its proper place and relative value; he always thought and wrote under the influence of an exclusive idea, which became his sole and divine law. He demanded, as a natural consequence, the extreme results from an incomplete principle, and flung up into an intense hatred against the opponents of his despotic rule. He was, moreover, subject to that seduction which superior talent often exercises upon its possessor, even more than over those who listen to him. The idea which he yielded his faith, the sentiment with which he was penetrated, presented themselves to him under such alluring aspects, he was so strongly impressed with their charms and merits, that in yielding himself up to the pleasure of contemplating and describing them, he lost all faculty of perceiving their faults and glaring deficiencies; while in his idolatrous enthusiasm he despised and detested all barbarians and blasphemers all who repudiated the objects of his adoration and sympathy. The natural course of this passion of the logician and artist speedily manifested themselves in Abbé de La Mennais. When he plunged into this spectacle of the miseries of human society, the

imperfections of governments, and the [] they inflicted, [] physical and moral sufferings of nations,—when he had employed in painting them all the power of his imagination and his soul, he [] nothing beyond, no other fact, no other question. His world was entirely shut up in these gloomy pictures, in which all [] faculties [] absorbed. This ardent advocate of despotic ecclesiastical authority, who had established ■ *Future*,* [] the conquest of the liberties of the church, became by degrees the apostle of absolute and universal freedom; with ■ sincerity alternately arrogant [] melancholy, the theocratic theorist transformed himself into ■ liberal republican, ■ revolutionary democrat, until his clairvoyant spirits might readily foretell the day when anarchical doctrines and passions, carried to the last extreme, would [] in him their bitterest and [] eloquent interpreter.

The rational members of the Catholic church, and amongst others the greater number of the bishops, abstained from deceiving themselves. Compromising through its violence, [] while maintaining their [] " *L'Avenir* " soon appeared to them dangerous in [] doctrines; and while still admiring the Abbé [] La Mennais, they looked upon him [] ■ suspicious ally who might readily become [] enemy. The court of Rome [] them [] by coinciding with their suspicions and alarms. When [] Abbé de La Mennais and [] two principal associates in " *L'Avenir*," [] Count de Montalembert and [] Abbé Lacordaire, removed [] Rome [] question of [] merit and durability of their enter-

* ' *L'Avenir*,' [] title of his publication.

prise, Pope Gregory XVI. received them with marked consideration, praised their object, and endeavoured to nullify opposition. He was unwilling to condemn a man who had so recently and brilliantly defended ecclesiastical authority, and he undoubtedly hoped to reclaim him by conciliation. But driven to extremity by the intractable urgency of the Abbé de La Mennais, and the necessity of putting an end to the schism in the church, the Pope at last, in the Encyclical Letter of the 15th of August, 1832, pronounced a formal and peremptory censure, although expressed in mild and generous terms. The Abbé Lacordaire, with rare sagacity in an enthusiastic mind, had anticipated the result, and endeavoured to induce his two friends to forestall it by a modest submission; but being unable to prevail upon them, he left Rome alone, leaving the Abbé de La Mennais more and more irritated in spirit, and M. de Montalembert, charmed and spell-bound under his influence. When the Encyclical Letter of the 15th of August, 1832, made its appearance, a new schism sprang up. M. de Montalembert, and, if I am not mistaken, all the other editors of "*L'Avenir*," submitted in their turn; fully and without equivocation, resolved, whatever might be their secret thoughts, to conduct themselves like faithful Catholics. Left alone, a prey to the internal struggle between his ancient faith and the new ideas that expanded within him under the aspiration of wounded pride, the Abbé de La Mennais exhibited a feeble mixture of docility mixed up with the remains of an ill-concealed rage, and finding that the course of Rome was determined and to be thus

satisfied, he finally, by the publication of "Words of a Believer," (*Paroles d'un Croyant*), engaged in a declared revolt, which merged into an implacable struggle against the Pope, the Romish church, the French episcopacy, Kings, monarchy, and all other religious and political authorities, which, according to his idea, held under their detestable yoke, minds and nations, and robbed them of the liberty and happiness which they undoubtedly right.

Thus he attempted reform, not religious doctrines, but the political attitude of catholicism, and to establish between the Catholic church and modern society, not simply a frigid peace, but a sincere and productive harmony. It was a grand idea responding to a great social interest. The Abbé de La Mennais, through his false perceptions and inflammable pride, involved it for a time in his own shipwreck, by associating it with his reveries and anti-social passions, which never have failed, and never will fail to introduce, wherever they penetrate, tyrannical anarchy in place of liberty, and chaos as a substitute for progress. One question alone, the question of free education, remained above the ruins of "*L'Avenir*," deplorably aggravated and envenomed by the general polemic, of which it had been, if not the principal object, at least the originating cause. M. de Montalembert, the Abbé Lacordaire, and their friends, in separating avowedly from the Abbé de La Mennais, a rebel against the church, carried all their ardour into the special struggle in progress between the church and the University. There they found the French episcopacy, if already pre-

pared to follow, at least disposed to support them in the combat. It was pre-eminently in the sphere of education that the bishops preserved, in their relations with the state, remembrances of their desires of independence. They had their own establishments of secondary education, the small seminaries, those formidable competitors of the colleges of the University. They protected, less openly, the religious associations, Jesuits, Ligorists, Dominicans, and others, who founded houses of education. They were the national rivals of the University, and the natural allies of men arrayed against it in the name of liberty of instruction, in a war, becoming daily more animated, precisely because it was concentrated against a single adversary, and directed towards a single end.

Engaged in conflict with the official leaders and daring volunteers of the church, the University was unable to find, even in French society itself, the support it had a right to expect. Not only many Catholic families participate in the religious mistrust manifested towards it by the clergy, but the ardent liberals persisted, on their side, in taxing it with bigotry as well as despotism. By the very essence of its essential character, and from the very idea that presided at its foundation, it encountered, within a certain sphere of French society, but little confidence and sympathy. When the Emperor Napoleon, in creating the University, commanded it as the leading object of its mission to employ all its resources and reputation in the advancement of secondary instruction, of classical and literary studies, he was actuated by a profound instinct of the social condition,

determine more, for public instruction in France, under the aspect, the eternal problem of reconciliation between power and liberty.

One favourable solution alone presented itself. To entirely the principle of the sovereignty of the state on the question, and to adopt without reserve, in all its consequences, that of free competition between the state and its rivals, laical or ecclesiastical, private or incorporated. This appeared to be a simple, able, and efficacious. It reduced all the enemies of the University to silence by satisfying and stroke their loudest pretensions, while to remain in lists, it demanded from them unremitting exertions; for the state also retained the power of giving to its own schools all the development and advantages which social interest or the public wish might suggest or require. None of the contending parties could find any ground of complaint, for they retained the full and free use of all their arms; but it was the state itself which regulated the conditions of the combat, by accepting, while it abandoned empire, the salutary obligation of omitting no efforts to maintain or recover its superiority.

Experience, which usually inculcates reserve and prudence, had taught a contrary lesson. When we are in the right, we can risk more than we believe we may. It would have been better for the University to have boldly accepted the struggle with free rivals, than to reduce to the necessity of defending with hesitation its sovereignty and privileges against inveterate enemies. The first shock once over, it would have been in a condition to continue the struggle, not only with

but credit, and would speedily have emerged from it with power and dignity.

But everything under the government of July opposed this complete daring policy, which notwithstanding leaning towards the church, Restoration had ventured to attempt. An immense majority of the public, I might even say the public unanimously, in ecclesiastical liberty the precursor and instrument of ecclesiastical rule,—the object of universal antipathy and terror. The laical spirit, which had become so powerful, was bitterly suspicious, and would have doubted its own security, if its rivals displayed, like itself, and possibly in direct opposition, the liberty it had conquered from them. The traditions of the old monarchy in also, on this point, second the passions of France. Our ancient laws the relations between the and the church, on the interdictions the fetters imposed on religious associations, were appealed to as the rampart of liberal victories. To general and historical suspicions, the Revolution of 1830 had added others more distinct and personal. The and the church never really in mutual understanding, but when each believes itself sincerely trusted by the other, and when they feel assured that no hostility whatever exists between their essential principles and vital interests. This, unfortunately, had ceased, since 1830, to be the common sentiment between the powers. They lived in peace, but in intimacy, exchanging support without confidence in reciprocal attachment. In the very bosom of the church, thus officially linked to the new rule, there appeared

regrets and reserved thoughts favourable to the fallen authority; while the church, in turn, frequently saw itself exposed to the ironical indifference of the disciples of Voltaire, to the hostile hostility of the enemies of the Revolution. The warm apostles of free education themselves aggravated the obstacles opposed to it by the influence of parties and minds. The extravagances of the Abbé La Mennais, alternately theocratic and revolutionary, redoubled the suspicions and indignation of the opposite civilians, conservatives as well as liberals, magistrates, lawyers, and students. Any one, who at that time would have ventured to advise the government, in the question of public instruction, to resign absolutely the control of the state, the system of the University, the curbs of the church and religious associations,—and to incur without strong precautions the unfettered competition of such a host of rivals (I will call them enemies), would have been looked upon as a concealed Jesuit, a base deserter, a blinded visionary.

Without understanding these difficulties as thoroughly as I do now, I entertained, in 1836, a lively impression of them, and thereupon regulated my conduct both in preparing and debating the bill on secondary education. I concentrated my plan on three points: to maintain the University, to secure liberty by its side, and to postpone the opposing questions which the present influence of parties and feelings excluded from any profitable permanent solution. I took the University, its organization and educational establishments, as a great existing fact, good in itself, and capable of being adapted to a constitutional system, but not calling for

revived discussion. I submitted ■ to ■ free ■ petition of all ■ rivals, without distinction or reserve, and without imposing ■ any of them special conditions. I referred ■ other times ■ laws the questions which had no essential bearing on the principle I desired ■ lay down; amongst others, those relating ■ the small seminaries, religious congregations, and various ■ blishments, clerical or laical, which had been the objects of special ■ either of indulgence or severity.

A bill conceived in this spirit, combined, I will ■ hesitate ■ say, disinterestedness and courage. By firmly supporting the University, while frankly admitting liberty, I encountered at ■ the attacks of ■ opposing liberals, and of a considerable number ■ my ■ servative friends. By shutting out from ■ the University and ■ exceptional rule of certain ecclesiastical establishments, I closed ■ arena against ■ systems ■ old passions. My bill assumed the aspect of timidity mingled with obstinacy, and I reduced myself to ■ defence of positions formidably menaced on every side, instead of encountering the gratifications and chances of a great ■ in the open ■ against ■ class of enemies alone.

The debate taught me ■ in spite of my prudence in ■ enterprise, I had been too sanguine in my hope. M. Saint-Marc Girardin, by order of the committee of the Chamber of Deputies, drew up ■ report, a model ■ the ■ in which ■ excels, of marching ■ by sometimes verging from the direct road either to ■ right ■ left, and by drawing advantage alternately, with impartial complaisance, from contrary ideas, without

either deserting his own or entirely adopting them. This report, while introducing an ample allowance of modification into the bill, confirmed nevertheless its principles, and made no change in the essential results. When the debate came on, M. de Tracy and M. Arago, the latter with honest regret, the former with a certain infusion of learned display and laboured pleasantry, attacked the bill as incomplete, restricted, and solely calculated to repair here and there the edifice of the University, when it was necessary to construct a grand and comprehensive system of public education. They explained their views, and the nature of the bill they would have introduced, much more fully than they discussed the measure now before the Chamber. I felt little alarm at these general and vague attacks, which I had untouched the fundamental question my bill proposed to solve. But before long, members of inferior renown, and not all identified with the opposition, directed their assaults against the delicate point. Uneasy as to the consequences of liberty, and above all, of ecclesiastical liberty, which in their eyes amounted to public instruction, the Jesuits, they demanded on the one hand, that the small seminaries should be subjected to all the conditions imposed by law upon private secondary schools; and, on the other, that every head of such a school should be compelled, not only to take the political oath, but to swear that he belonged to no unauthorized society or corporation. I succeeded in throwing out of the bill all amendments, but the second was adopted. This amounted to imposing on the liberty of the Catholic church and its militia, per-

sonal ~~in~~ in educational matters, while I took from the proposed law the leading characteristic of sincerity and common liberal right with which I anxiously ~~desired~~ should be impressed.

M. de Lamartine, who at ~~the time~~ neither ~~was~~ amongst my adversaries nor friends, was the only one of ~~the members~~ taking part in the debate who perfectly comprehended the importance of ~~the~~ feature, the merit of the bill to which I belonged. "I have heard," he said, "for several days, many members holding different views, declare that they will black-ball the bill. I am sorry for it. Some are prepossessed with that phantom of Jesuitism which is incessantly conjured up here, and which must be declared more powerful than ever, if it can induce us to recede before liberty. Others seem to apprehend that the clergy may appropriate to themselves the exclusive education of our youth, and that the spirit of the time, represented by the University, may exercise a monopoly over the traditional and religious element represented by educational societies. It is exactly one of these disagreements between opposing parties which I shall vote, and conjure the Chamber to vote for this bill, under a certain conviction. What! after seven years of expectation, after a Revolution made to acquire this very right of free instruction, after it has been called for by men of the most contrasted views, and inscribed in the Charter as a synallagmatic condition of the government of 1830, are we going to reject it from the hands of the sincere and ~~valiant~~ minister who introduced it, and to induce France and Europe to suppose that the sphere of liberty is not wide enough for all,

that we wish to restrict to ourselves alone? No, gentlemen, this is not possible. Let us hasten, in spite of all objections, in spite of all impolitic oath, and all restrictions, more or less oppressive; let us hasten, I say, to pass this bill. It is a pledge of liberty which all parties place involuntarily in your hands, against religious intolerance and atheistic tyranny; and which we never, in any future period, be wrested from us."

The law eventually passed in the Chamber of Deputies. But, a few days after, the cabinet fell, I lost office, and my bill subsided with me, without going to the Chamber of Peers. If it had remained, such as I first presented it, perhaps, notwithstanding a few incoherencies and gaps, it might have sufficed to settle the question of free education, and to prevent the deplorable contest of which that question subsequently became the object. If, through the amendments to which it was subjected, the bill, by restraining the liberty promised by the Charter, expressly from the church and its officials, added fresh venom to the quarrel instead of bringing it to an end. The failure was for no regret.

By the bill I undertook to follow up the solution, already commenced in my law for primary instruction, of a question which has recently been much discussed; of the intermediate and practical training which applies to employments and social positions important from their number, activity, influence, the strength and repose of the state. Superior elementary schools formed the degree of departure of teaching intended to become complete

and special in the communal colleges of the second class, and to occupy a place in the great colleges of the towns and the cities, without detriment to the higher order of literary and scientific instruction, essential of necessity to all liberal professions. Liberty of general education, with the development of intermediate teaching, were the vital principles of the bill: they were together.

I shall say nothing here of a multitude of special measures, of which, during the four years of my administration, the establishments for secondary education were the object. The great problems of that important degree of popular teaching are the only ones on which I have it at heart to recall, with accuracy, my views and labours. My position in that respect, and I have already stated it, was much more complicated and difficult than in the matter of elementary instruction. I conducted myself, I believe, as a liberal conservative. I defended the University against impatient rivals whose claims I acknowledged, and in the University great classical studies against frivolous innovators whose wishes I did not utterly reject. When I desired to innovate myself, and to settle the questions on liberty of teaching laid down by the Charter, I attempted more than I was able to accomplish. Impartial minds who may take the trouble of examining these matters, will judge whether this was my fault, or of the public with whom I had to deal, either enemies

CHAPTER IV.

SUPERIOR EDUCATION.

STATE OF MINDS FROM 1832 TO 1837 ON THE SUBJECT OF SUPERIOR EDUCATION.—VACANT CHAIRS IN THE COLLEGE OF FRANCE.—APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS. EUGÈNE BURNOUF, JOUFFROY, AMPÈRE, AND OTHERS.—PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH THE FACULTY.—A CHAIR OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE FACULTY OF LAW AT PARIS.—APPOINTMENT OF M. BOSEL.—OPPOSITION TO HIS COURSE OF LECTURES.—M. AUGUSTE COMTE AND POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.—PROCEEDINGS IN THE CHAMBERS AGAINST MEN OF SCIENCE AND PLURALITY OF EMPLOYMENTS.—ON LETTERS FROM M. SAINT-HILAIRE.—SCIENTIFIC TRAVELLERS.—AND CHAMPOLLION.—ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF LIBERTY IN SUPERIOR EDUCATION.—ON THE ABSENCE OF ALL MORAL DISCIPLINE IN SUPERIOR EDUCATION.—MEANS OF APPLYING A REMEDY.

My office as minister of Public Instruction became infinitely more agreeable when the subject under debate was superior education, than when confined to the elementary and secondary branches. I encountered no strong public opinion pressing me on new and general work in the higher department. There, I had neither to contend with an ardent appeal to liberty nor with embittered emulation. In mathematical and physical science, the superiority and independence of French schools were acknowledged. In letters, philosophy, and history, our public teaching was very

recently displayed itself with energy, and given proofs of freedom. The government of the Restoration was moderate, even when yielding to its mischievous propensities. The course of the Sorbonne, opened, closed, and re-opened by turns, had shown that its severe enactments were not irrevocable. It was certain that the government of 1814 would still further relax the fetters of intellectual freedom. In the matter of high instruction, the public, at that epoch, had little to desire or fear: that subject they were prepossessed with no dominant idea or impatient longing. Intellectual aspirations faded before political ambition. Superior education, as it was constituted and exercised, sufficed for the practical wants of society, which regarded it with a blended feeling of satisfaction and indifference.

I only half participated in the views of these sentiments, and was all in the second. Undoubtedly superior instruction at Paris wanted nothing either in vigour, dignity, or reputation. In the University, the faculties of literature, science, law, and medicine, had many different chairs occupied by eminent men. Beyond the University, and unconnected with the system, the College of France, the Botanical Garden (*Jardin des Plantes*), the various special seminaries, secured independence and extension of superior teaching, and prevented either the exclusive spirit or routine of any single body from taking possession of it. In the choice of teachers and in the system of instruction itself, merit and liberty were without guarantees. The government, by presenting candidates, or by direct co-operation, the educational and learned societies, the faculties, the

special schools, the Institute, exercised a proper use of influence in the nominations. The government neither interfered nor pretended to interfere with the teaching, beyond the appointment of professors according to the established rules, the maintenance of public order in the courts. Neither practical efficiency for the youths intended for the different liberal professions, nor intellectual luxury for the amateurs of mind and science, were wanting in these combined sources of superior instruction. Nevertheless, according to my judgment, they were, as a whole, far from being adequate, throughout the entire land, to the serious necessities of French civilization, and above all, to the moral development of the generations verging on the prime of manhood, and ready in time to perform their part in the destiny of the country as well in their own personal fortunes. There were still important deficiencies in regard to national intelligence, liberty, and morality, unheeded by the public, but with which I was deeply impressed and with an anxious desire to supply.

I was cautious, however, not to commence the reforms and innovations I proposed. In the various departments of Government, public instruction is, perhaps, of all others, the one which most requires the minister to conciliate the opinions of those who surround him, and to secure their support in his undertakings; for they possess rights, and sometimes the pretensions of men of intelligence by profession, accustomed to the free use of reasoning and reflection. In other departments of administration the choice of agents, the relations between leaders and associates, personal influence

and mutual confidence, perform such important parts. ~~Before~~ entering ~~on~~ the difficult questions in superior education, as yet undisturbed, I was ~~able~~ of finding amongst ~~the students~~ of the principal schools, ~~not~~ merely fellow-labourers but friends, disposed ~~and~~ able ~~to~~ ~~assist~~ me.

The course of ~~studies~~ ~~was~~ supplied natural opportunities. During the first year of my ministry, ~~the~~ chairs, those of the Greek Language ~~and~~ Philosophy, of ~~the~~ Sanscrit and its Literature, of French Literature, and of Political Economy, became vacant in the college of France. The professors, by whose ~~death~~ ~~the~~ vacancies occurred, Messrs. Thurot, De Chézy, Andrieux, and J. B. Say, enjoyed honourable reputations in the world of letters; ~~and~~ ~~even~~ celebrated and popular. They required adequate ~~replacements~~. I could only select them from amongst the candidates, proposed by the college of France and the Institute. I had reason to expect, for ~~one~~ of these chairs at least, contested presentations, which would devolve ~~on~~ ~~me~~ the embarrassment and responsibility of choice. I am almost unconscious of embarrassment, and I have ~~no~~ dread of responsibility. The chair of the Sanscrit Language and Literature ~~was~~ ~~the~~ object of competition. Presented ~~by~~ by the college of France and the Academy of Inscriptions, still young, and destined ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~an~~ early ~~to~~ exhausted before his time by ~~his~~ enthusiasm and labour of science, M. Eugène Burnouf ~~was~~ ~~named~~ beforehand by all ~~the~~ learned orientalisists of Europe, and I could only enjoy ~~the~~ pleasure of officially confirming their suffrage. ~~For the chair~~ of Greek Philosophy,

French Literature, and Political Economy, my position was simple. Amongst the candidates presented by the college of France, were Messrs. Jouffroy, Ampère, and Rossi, who were known to be my friends, and whose names I openly desired. M. Jouffroy had engaged in the philosophic combats of the school of spiritualists, excited by Messrs. Royer-Collard and Cousin, against the sensualism of the 18th century. In place of M. Ampère, the French Academy had proposed, for the chair of Literature, one of their distinguished members, M. Lemercier, a brilliant poet, notwithstanding his failures, and an eminent critic, despite the irregularity of the greater part of his works. M. Rossi, an Italian refugee, and professor at Geneva, had only, as yet, in France, one of those reputations readily acknowledged, so long as they are at a distance, but which, as soon as they come near, encounter adversaries and rivals. The Academy of Moral and Political Science opposed to this candidate their permanent secretary, M. Charles Comte, a man of solid acquirements and conscientious opinions, equally just and firm in character, and the son-in-law of M. J. B. Say, to whom a vacancy was to be appointed. It was evident that Messrs. Ampère, Jouffroy, and Rossi, could not be elevated to the head of public instruction without exciting active jealousies, and the risk of exposing the power that placed them there to be charged with the spirit of party and coterie, of personal and of unreasonable partiality.

I hesitated not; and in the face of the discontent and ill-will which I foresaw, Messrs. Ampère, Jouffroy, and

Rossi, were appointed, with M. Eugène Burnouf, to the chairs.

At that time, I was in no habitual intimacy or intercourse with M. Ampère. He had not yet accomplished any of his travels or produced the works which have alternately entitled him as a sagacious observer of the present times and a learned critic of the past, equally inquisitive upon men and books, as earnest in discovering and as eager in unravelling the truth in the tombs of Egypt as in the rocks of Norway, and living with the same intelligent familiarity in the midst of the ruins of Rome, and in the great extemporized saloons of the American democracy. But although young, M. Ampère, like M. Eugène Burnouf, had already distinguished himself in 1833; at first, by a course of general lectures, which he had given at Marseilles, and afterwards as substitute for Messrs. Villemain and Fauriel in their chairs of French and Foreign Literature. He was one of the most active, laborious, and ingenious spirits, in this generation of erudite philosophers, who undertook, I will not say to renew, for the expression would be as idle as irrelevant, but to enlarge and to animate French Literature, a field menaced with languor, by opening to it in the ancient and modern world new regions in which to achieve, under its banner, productive conquests. The disputes between the followers of the romantic and the classical schools, have been, like all other quarrels, the cause of many pretences and puerile exaggerations; but it revealed to Europe a new phase of the human mind, and in France a profound necessity of our own genius. The literature of the Empire

had rendered an important service sufficiently remembered. It had extricated learning from revolutionary disorders and declamations, had brought it under the authority of tradition, correct judgment, and taste; while tradition, correct judgment, and can direct and arrange, they fail to inspire. To give energy to their labours, as to a ship on the ocean, there be wind as well as a compass. The inspiring breath wanting in our national literature, when the romantic school sought for it in fresh sources,—foreign letters and liberty. In these lay its original character and real merit. It has given all that it promised: such is the fate of human engagements; completion rarely equals attempt. But it has imprinted on French Literature a movement which neither failed in brilliancy nor effect, and has been mutually felt by its adversaries and adepts. M. Ampère appeared to me, in 1833, well suited to promote, in public instruction, this literary revival; and I was satisfied that all he accomplished since that period, his voyages and labours, that singular combination of adventurous journeys and patient studies, that indefatigable intellectual ardour, so disinterested, diversified, and ever young, have justified the presentiment which determined my choice.

In calling M. Jouffroy to the chair of Greek and Latin Philosophy, I did so from anticipation, but with full knowledge and confidence. When he had scarcely emerged from the normal School, this youthful philosopher inspired me with much interest and affectionate interest. His disposition and counte-

nance he had an impressive and amiable mixture of pride and sweetness, of passion and reserve, of independence somewhat suspicious, and of tranquil dignity. His manner was perfectly free, and was bold, with a natural turn for order and respect; capable of hasty enthusiasm, but without obstinacy, and was ready to pause, to halt his steps, to listen to the lessons of life, to examine the various aspects of truth. His imagination was vivid and his reflection deliberate, with more abundance and delicacy than power in his thought, more progressive observation than inventive originality, and with more tendency to indulge in ingenious theories and subtle deductions, which might have led him astray, had not the rectitude of his heart and judgment warned and restrained him. I never knew a more serious and sincere in science and in the business of life; less pride, of which he possessed a sufficient share, less controlled either by conscience or by reason. When I appointed him to the college of France, he had already displayed, during fifteen years, both in the interior of the normal School, and in the Faculty of Letters, his rare talent for high philosophical instruction. He had been eighteen months in the Chamber of Deputies, where he showed himself a sensible and independent judge in political affairs, without pretending to become a leading actor. I may rank him amongst a small number of those well-regulated spirits open to experience, although devoted to speculation, and whose minds are regulated and enlightened instead of being intoxicated by public life.

Three years after his appointment he was attacked

by the disease which years later proved him. chest, seriously affected, rendered not only repose, but the soft and air of the south, indispensable. He married, and almost without fortune. I offered him a mission in Italy, Florence and Pisa, where he might re-establish his by pursuing, leisure, studies on the state of public instruction in Tuscany, and researches into the manuscripts of local libraries. In the press and in the Chambers an unfeeling and thoughtfulness has often attacked these indulgences, granted upon plausible pretexts highly legitimate I have disregarded such assaults. How the funds destined for the ragement of literature be more worthily employed, than in supporting under the calamities of life the strength and courage of who do honour the cause? M. Jouffroy accepted the I proposed to him, and it gratified me to find proofs, in the letters he addressed to me from Italy, that his residence there beneficial the tranquillity of his mind and the prolongation of his days.

I had been for several years connected with M. Rossi. The Duke de Broglie, who had much of him Geneva and Coppet, frequently named him to me. Before 1830, he visited Paris several times, which many opportunities of conversation. He had become a contributor to the "Revue Française," the publication of which I directed. The various lectures he delivered Geneva on jurisprudence, political economy, and history, his "Treatise on Penal Law," published Paris in 1828,

ranked him throughout Europe amongst the foremost of high instruction, both by his speeches and writings. Since then he had taken an active and influential part in the general affairs of Switzerland. The canton of Geneva elected him its representative in the great Diet assembled at Lucerne in 1832, to revise and modify the organization of the Helvetic Confederacy. The Diet appointed him a member of the committee empowered to revise the Federal compact, and this committee selected him for their reporter. He had manifested his principles, and given proofs of his efficacy both as a political actor and a publicist. I knew what he had been in Italy, what he was in Switzerland, and what he would be everywhere. I resolved to attach and bring him to France. During the middle of the 18th century the church more than one occasion received into its bosom and raised to its highest dignities proscribed exiles who had taken refuge in its asylums, and whose merits it had discovered. Why should not the church exercise this general intelligence, and adopt the men of talent and celebrity who were compelled by the troubles of their country to seek hospitality abroad? One point alone is of importance; not to extend the favour but to good security, and to persons capable of responding to it worthily. On this condition it will be rarely exercised. Switzerland had been deceived herself in adopting M. Rossi, neither was I mistaken when I determined to make him a Frenchman.

Nevertheless, he always remained thoroughly Italian. Our conversations allowed me to retain no doubts on the subject; and I have already published in these

"Memoirs" letters which prove with what ardour, in 1831, he participated in the destinies of his native land. But I knew him to be too much a man of sense and honour to sacrifice, or to subordinate, the interests of his adopted country to the hopes of his youth. I shall return again to this topic. In 1848 M. Rossi died for Italy. From 1848 to 1848 he faithfully served and reflected honour on France.

His appointment as Professor of Political Economy in the College of France, although it excited some movements, met with no opposition. He was proposed by the college itself, and the success of his lectures speedily silenced criticism. But this choice was not enough of itself to recompense him for the position he had abandoned in Switzerland, and to attach him definitively to France. When we wish to acquire the services of any man, justice and sound policy demand that we should secure him those external advantages which enable the mind to work in tranquillity and freedom. When I invited M. Rossi to Paris, I opened to him the prospect of a second chair, which would complete his rank as a professor of the first class, and place him within range of assuming his proper place in the country of his adoption. I felt it much at heart to establish a school of instruction on the constitutional law, to become the basis of the French government. An attempt of this kind had been made a few months before the Revolution of 1830. A chair of public French Justice had been created in the Faculty of Law at Toulouse, in favour of a distinguished and popular citizen, M. Romiguières,

who afterwards became Attorney-General in the royal [redacted] of that city, and a member of the house of Peers. I [redacted] anxious [redacted] [redacted] branch of instruction should be inaugurated with [redacted] efficacy and éclat, under its proper name, in [redacted] centre of superior education, [redacted] [redacted] the constitutional Charter should [redacted] explained in its [redacted] sense, before the numerous students in the School of Law [redacted] Paris. I proposed to the King, who acceded [redacted] it, the creation of a chair of constitutional Law in that school; and [redacted] the same day, when the "Moniteur" published a report explaining the motives and precise object of the [redacted] professorship, I appointed M. Rossi [redacted] the office.¹

This nomination, although more vehemently disputed than the former one, appeared nevertheless [redacted] first to excite only the attacks of habitual oppositionists and the spleen of professional rivals. But when, [redacted] the annual opening of the school, [redacted] the [redacted] of November, 1834, M. Rossi commenced his [redacted] on constitutional Law, he was assailed by clamorous interruptions, which prevented him from finishing the lecture. Thrice on the appointed days he ascended the pulpit, and endeavoured in vain [redacted] proceed with his exposition. The disturbers [redacted] in [redacted] minority. A great number of auditors, [redacted] serious and liberal-minded students, endeavoured by cries of "Order!" and by applauding the professor, [redacted] contend against [redacted] tumult, but invariably failed. There [redacted] evidently a petty organized revolt in the school, in which those ignorant and turbulent pupils readily joined who believed [redacted] by such con-

¹ [redacted] Historic Documents, No. VI.

duct they should gratify _____ of their masters, and _____ pleasure _____ being supported by _____ usual outside seditiousaries. To these continued disorders, and _____ the insults _____ threatened to become violent, M. Rossi opposed _____ persevering coolness and _____ few appropriate words. On each renewed scene, when he _____ the school, he _____ to tell me what had passed, and _____ concert future proceedings; somewhat surprised, _____ liberal refugee, invited to establish a liberal school of instruction, _____ encounter, _____ against the man and _____ undertaking, this low and savage opposition. The council of Ministers and the Royal council of Public Instruction, to which I reported the circumstance, agreed with me that, after having arrested _____ of the conspirators, it would be necessary _____ institute _____ inquiry into the _____ of the tumult, to intimidate hostile intrigues, and to suspend the _____ of lectures until the inquiry _____ over, that excited spirits might thereby find an opportunity of calming down. Both _____ attained their end. The enemies began to be a little ashamed, and the turbulent to grow tired. M. Rossi _____ commenced his course, and a few years after, with the universal approbation of the students and his fellow-professors, he became dean of that very school of Law which he had entered with so much animosity and opposition.

He _____ admirably adapted to _____ obstacles, to dissipate _____ prejudices, and _____ conciliate ill-disposed minds, provided he could obtain the necessary time. In reality, he was _____ of passion _____ authoritativeness, but they _____ showed themselves on the instant, _____ with that impulsive and external energy

which ~~overcame~~ and subdued parliamentary ~~the~~ popular tumults. Apparently cold, deliberate, and scornful, he exercised ~~a~~ more powerful action upon individuals than over ~~the~~ and ~~the~~ better qualified ~~the~~ please and conquer in ~~a~~ tête-à-tête conversation ~~than~~ when surrounded by ~~the~~ confusion ~~the~~ changes of ~~a~~ crowd collected either in ~~a~~ assembly ~~or~~ ~~a~~ revolt. While the disorders excited ~~the~~ the occasion of ~~the~~ opening ~~the~~ became almost ~~a~~ government affair, the King said to me, "Are you quite sure that the man ~~is~~ worth the embarrassment he ~~causes~~ us?"—"Infinitely more, Sire," I replied: "the King will ~~one~~ day make M. Rossi something far greater than ~~a~~ professor of constitutional law." "In that case," rejoined his Majesty, "you are right; let us support him firmly."

At the same period, I ~~had~~ ~~some~~ intercourse with a person who has made, I will not say ~~any~~ noise—for nothing could be less noisy—but who has produced ~~a~~ considerable effect ~~in~~ beyond France amongst reflecting minds, and whose ideas have passed into the *credo* of ~~a~~ small philosophical sect. These ~~are~~ professorships, founded in the college of France and in the Faculties, ~~the~~ movement ~~in~~ every kind of literary ambition. M. Auguste Comte, the author of what has been called by others, and entitled by himself, "Positive Philosophy," requested ~~me~~ see ~~him~~. He ~~was~~ ~~a~~ perfect stranger, whose name ~~was~~ I ~~had~~ ~~never~~ heard mentioned. I received him, and ~~we~~ conversed ~~some~~ time together. ~~He~~ requested me ~~to~~ ~~accept~~ for him in ~~the~~ college of France ~~a~~ chair of General History and of Physical and Mathematical Science. To convince me of ~~the~~

necessity of this, he expounded, heavily and confusedly, his views upon man, society, religion, philosophy, and history. He was simple-minded and honest, thoroughly sincere with his own opinions, modest in outward manner, though in reality prodigiously proud, and believing sincerely that he was destined to inaugurate a new era for human civilization. While listening to him, I found it impossible to restrain the open expression of my astonishment, and a mind so vigorous should at the same time be so limited as not to catch even a glimpse of the nature and bearing of the facts he handled, or the questions he disposed of; and that a character so disinterested should not be convinced by his own feelings, moral in spite of himself, of the immoral falsity of his ideas. Such is the condition of mathematical materialism. I made no attempt even to argue with M. Comte. His sincerity, his devotion, and his blindness inspired me with that mournful esteem which takes refuge in silence. Soon after, he addressed me a long letter, repeating his request for the professorship, the establishment of which he looked upon as equally indispensable to science and to society.¹ Had I agreed in this, assuredly I should never have dreamed for a moment of bestowing it upon him.

The two chairs conferred successively on M. Rossi, revived in the Chambers and in the journals a question already several times debated, and destined to new discussions, namely, that of plurality of salaries and salary in the departments of literature, science, and superior instruction; for to these it is almost entirely

¹ See Historic Documents, No. VII.

and of necessity confined. This was the reiterated expression of jealous parsimony which bitterly denied the worldly comfort of those hard-working men, a greater portion of whom are distinguished, some illustrious, and nearly all without personal fortune; and shut out to them the produce, always extremely moderate, of their long labours. In this there was not only shameful injustice, but mistaken calculation; a forgetfulness of individual rights and national interests. If a list were drawn up of the men who from 1830 to 1840 held more than one employment, either in instruction, science, or literature, we should find at the head, and in a majority, professors of all the different intellectual pursuits; men who in the application of science, and in science itself, were the best able to serve, and have in fact the country effectually served the country in the various posts confided to them. It is in the cases of such officers that objections have been raised, sometimes to their salaries, at others to their apartments, and even to the assistants they asked for after many years of active exertion. Some, to escape from these painful attacks, voluntarily resigned a certain portion of their duties; others, who had hoped to end their days under the same roof with the collections they had charge of, or the establishments they directed, saw themselves compelled to live beyond the dwelling-places of their minds, or the implements of their work. And even with those who were not reached by such paltry and inferior warfare, the attempt left in their minds a bitter feeling of resentment against ungrateful and narrow-minded authority.

I insert here, in its literal text, a letter addressed to me on this subject by one of our eminent naturalists, the colleague and, according to our scientific rival of Cuvier, M. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. He had been accused in the Chamber of Deputies of occupying in the Botanical Garden a house containing sixty rooms. He wrote to me on the instant, dated the 8th April, 1833:—

" **MEMBER AND MINISTER,**

" THE personal staff of the Museum of Natural History is placed under the superintendence of the two ministers of Public Instruction and Public Works. For our lodgings we depend on the latter department. Being attacked in the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies on Friday last for occupying apartments in the Royal Garden, I have defended myself to your excellency M. Thiers. Permit me, I entreat you, to send to your excellency a similar justification.

" The deputy M. L'Herbette has thought proper to denounce the house I occupy in the buildings belonging to the Museum as *ostentatious*, and consisting of sixty rooms. The entire statement is a falsehood. Between the two periods of M. L'Herbette's charges, the premises have been inspected by another deputy, a member of the committee of the budget, M. Prunelle. This honourable member of the Chamber has personally examined my abode, the attics and the roof. The staircase by which he ascended could scarcely admit him; both skirts of his coat touched the walls at the same time, and the entire dwelling is of corresponding proportions.

“Formerly private property, the cottage I occupy, which consists of a ground-floor, under the roof, used as the residence of a foreman, placed under the control of a master-mason. A description of the premises, including a minute enumeration of all wooden partitions in every small corner, whether light or dark, purposely communicated to M. L’Herbette, and given rise to the illusions in which that deputy has indulged.

“If, after forty years of uninterrupted labour (my appointment to the Royal Garden, in place of Lacépède, dates from March, 1793), if, after this lapse of time, and the prosecution of researches commencing daily three or four o’clock in the morning, I had devoted my activity to a trade, I should now be a rich man. On the contrary, I have impoverished myself, having consumed a great portion of my patrimony in purchasing the materials and books indispensable to my pursuits, and also by publishing, at my own expense, ideas which, unintelligible from their novelty, and utterly unpopular, yield no pecuniary profit, and are destined to prepare bases for philosophy in future times.

“I have never asked, and consequently have obtained nothing from governments which respond to those by whom they are beset; nothing, unless I reckon the silver bestowed on me by Napoleon of my own accord. Far from tormenting high authorities, I have lived in the retirement alone favourable to labour; and now, at the end of a career of forty years, I have made the subject of discussion and reproach, because the humble roof that covers me is

unjustly represented as too spacious and luxurious. My cottage, hitherto envied by one, and in which I delight to dwell, suffices for me, it is true, for my pretensions confine themselves to the mediocrity commended by the poets of true philosophy.

"If your excellency considers what I may say exaggerated, will you please to order another investigation of my abode? If it should be found too spacious, and I am sentenced to be driven from it, I am ready, as are all discoverers, to encounter every sacrifice; ready, without a murmur, to wander about the world with the staff of poverty in my hand, until my old age and welcomes eternal rest."

It is no trifling evil for a government to inspire such men with sentiments like these; and the friends of the parliamentary system are sufficiently aware of how much it is damaged by such and meddling inquisition, which discover nothing in the least important, in the highest functions, but over-paid servants, whose perquisites and salaries it fancies it may call upon to reduce. During the whole period of my administration, I strenuously opposed this disposition, and in many ways with success. When we deal in political assemblies with subjects that involve the intellectual credit and interest of the country, we ought not to shrink from proposing, demanding, and insisting on an appeal to liberal ideas and generous sentiments. We often gain more than we look for, and when we fail we suffer little from the check. Amongst the men engaged in the pursuit of science, one class particularly inspired me with warm personal sympathy. These were the

learned travellers, those hardy pioneers of knowledge and intelligence, who, to win for their country new acquirements and relations, ■ augment her fame or resources, exhaust in distant lands, and in all gradations of suffering and danger, their youth, their ■■■■■ their health, their lives, and when they ■■■■■ ■■■■■ their domestic hearths, do not always ■■■■■ ■■■■■ the modest position they held on quitting home, ■ feel assured of being able to place before ■■■■■ public the new intellectual treasures amassed for their advantage. In ■■■■■ and 1833, I found myself brought into immediate contact, not with the persons, but already with the memories of two of the ■■■■■ illustrious of these hero-martyrs of science, Champollion the younger and Victor Jacquemont, both dead, the one at forty-one, the other ■ thirty-one, mutual victims of their fatigues and labours, and reciprocally leaving unedited and buried with their families, the manuscripts and collections, the produce of their genius, and the pride of their lives. A few days after my entry into the ministry of Public Instruction, M. de Tracy spoke to me of Victor Jacquemont, ill and dying in India, without its being known in Paris. A ■■■■■ had been granted ■■■■■ him for his voyage, and a salary ■■■■■ utterly insufficient that he would have languished in helplessness and poverty, ■■■■■ the friendship of Lord William Bentinck, ■■■■■ time Governor-General of India, had not stepped in ■■■■■ relieve him. When, ■■■■■ the close of the seventeenth century, ■■■■■ indefatigable opponent of Louis XIV. ■■■■■ of France, William III. watched over with a tender solicitude, somewhat surprising ■■■■■

of J. W. Bentinck, his intimate and almost only friend, he little imagined that, nearly a century and a half later, another Bentinck, ruler in the name of England over a vast empire in Asia, would render the same affectionate service to a solitary young French traveller, separated by an immense distance from his own country. It gives me pleasure to connect these reminiscences which attest the progress of generous friendly habits between France and England. I hastened to double the allowance of Victor Jacquemont, a trivial act of justice which arrived a little late. When it was known in Paris that he had died of cholera at Bombay, I entered into an arrangement with his family and friends to secure the publication of the "Journal" and "Collections" of his voyage;—a great work, filled with valuable notes and drawings, as well as with learned investigations, and as interesting for cultivated minds to read, as curious for professed geologists and naturalists to study. The memorials and labours of Champollion the younger called for even a more marked testimonial. I presented a bill to the Chambers decreeing the purchase of his manuscripts, the publication of which I immediately ordered to be commenced, and the allotment of a pension to his widow of 3,000 francs. By a similar and simultaneous bill, the library of M. Cuvier was bought by the state, and his widow, in addition to a pension of 6,000 francs, was permitted to occupy for life the residence of her deceased husband in the Botanical Garden.

These measures of administration of special amendment and personal justice, however, neither embraced

announced any great reform in the general system of superior instruction. I contemplated, however, several, important but difficult, and for which the public, the government, and the University were but little anxious to be ill prepared.

No one had yet demanded, or at least persevered in requiring that the principle of unrestricted teaching should be applied to superior instruction. In point of fact, the degree of liberty already extensively permitted in that particular branch of national education satisfied the general desire. As a principle, the good sense of the public foresaw the extreme danger, and therefore the impossibility, of according to the first comer the right of opening a place of assembly for all who might follow; of elevating a pulpit there, and of professing openly on all educational matters connected with the higher department, every opinion or idea which might cross the human mind. What were the limits to be assigned to this privilege, and the securities to be required for its proper exercise? These points were rather glanced at than formally laid down, and the authorities were under a practical and pressing necessity of bringing them to a solution. It is exactly at such a moment that it becomes a judicious government to grapple with and determine similar questions, and this they can then do with foresight and moderation, without being driven to a struggle against passions or systems already in full vigour; and by placing strong guarantees for order and public morals in close proximity with a freedom as yet but sparingly familiarised. I am convinced that, before long, the natural progress of

ideas and institutions, the same amount of liberty would be demanded for superior education as for the elementary and secondary branches, and I am anxious to see that desire, when it became pressing, should already find itself regulated and restrained as well as satisfied.

The institution of substitutes in various faculties presented a natural mode of accomplishing this end. These professors, all young, and waiting for vacancies, elected by their colleagues after the trying ordeal of competition, existed since the year 1823, in the faculty of medicine; and, under the title of deputy lecturers, in that of law, into which they were admitted as soon as professors in actual office. In 1840, M. Cousin, at that time minister of Public Instruction, extended this arrangement to the faculties of literature and the sciences, and gave them full exercise by allowing these substitutes, in every faculty, to have their own free course of lectures in common with those delivered by the titular professors of the state. This was exactly what I proposed to do in 1835, with the view of opening to superior instruction, a convenient locality for the principle of liberty. I should probably have regulated the conditions on a different plan from that of M. Cousin. I might have given liberty some additional securities, in regard either to the opening or suspension of the lectures of the deputies, and have added considerably to the power invested in the faculties themselves, of intervention between the minister of Public Instruction and the professors. But in itself, and in its essential provisions, the measure was an excellent one, and had it been carried out in the spirit of its conception, it would have

realized, in superior education, of the principal improvements I proposed to introduce.

On another point of reform, much more important, M. Cousin and I held also similar opinions. I have already spoken in these "Memoirs" of the part I took in the decree of the 17th of February, 1815, issued by King Louis XVIII., for the general organization and system of the University. The object was to uncentralize, as the modern phrase runs, the government of public instruction, but education itself, and particularly the higher department. It established, much too generously, private universities, distributed through various parts of the country, in which every section of superior learning was included;—literature, philosophy, history, the mathematics, and physical sciences, law and medicine; the entire range of human knowledge, and all the acquirements necessary for the liberal professions. We cannot deceive ourselves as to the following fact: if we look throughout France, we shall see, everywhere, except in Paris, these noble studies on the decline. While the general level of primary and industrial education exalts itself, that of superior instruction and lofty intellectual development has become abased, and France of the present day, far better provided than formerly with elementary schools and good practical scholars in many classes, contains, beyond the capital, a much smaller number of minds richly endowed and nobly ambitious than she possessed in 1789, when the Constituent Assembly sprang suddenly from her bosom. I place great value on elementary and practical knowledge. It is the daily bread of nations; but the Gospel

tells us "man shall not live by bread alone." When nations have become great, and seek to preserve their eminence, the lofty cultivation of the mind ought to remain a rare phenomenon, concentrated exclusively on the summit of the social system. This, unfortunately, is the state of things at present. Paris morally allures and absorbs all France. Material wealth and comfort increase everywhere, but towards the capital alone minds direct themselves and ambitions aspire. We no longer find in our departments, as in the provinces formerly, men eminent for their intellectual lights and tastes, as for their social position, remaining stationary in their native towns or districts, actively and contentedly employed, disseminating around them the treasures of their knowledge, and the resources of their fortune. Political economists complain that population flows beyond measure towards the great cities; above all, in the direction of Paris. Writers have every reason to reiterate the same regret, for the attraction of intellectual life in the metropolis not only tends to enervate and extinguish it in the provinces, but changes, weakens, and corrupts it in the very focus of concentration. A great nation requires something more than cultivated and enlightened minds. It demands varied, original, unfettered spirits, who labour independently, think without restraint, and continue, while gradually developing their powers, what nature and the particular accidents of their destiny have made them. Now, few minds preserve these valuable qualities, unless when they expand and live where they are born, receiving light from every point of the horizon that presents it,

but without removing from the paternal soil. Man live everywhere, body and soul; nevertheless, he loses by transplantation much of his individual beauty and natural vigour. National unity is admirable, assimilation of weights and measures is good, but uniformity of minds sooner or later leads to their weakness or servitude; a result as much to be lamented as the liberty of a nation as for its honour and influence in the world.

I do not believe that three or four universities, placed here and there at a distance from Paris, could promote the virtue of curing the evil, produced and fomented by so many causes, some of them, perhaps, insurmountable. But of the remedies available in such a case, this appears to be one of the readiest and most efficacious. Many powerful ties, both of feeling and interest, attach men to the soil of their birth and infancy, and these bonds exert their empire upon active spirits thirsting for study and science, as also upon aspiring temperaments, whose desires are limited by the cultivation of the fields, or to following, under the natal roof, the business of their fathers. Men who are warmly imbued with intellectual ambition are induced to leave their native town or district, because they cannot find there the means of reaching the object to which they aspire, and the enjoyments, when once that end is attained, with which they are no longer dispense. Let there be established in various parts of France, great centres of study and intellectual life, where literature and science may open to their adepts sound lessons, the instruments of their labour, honourable careers, the gratifications of self-respect, and the plea-

of ~~the~~ society : undoubtedly, eminent professors, and young men of rising reputation, will willingly ~~come~~ thither, where they find ~~a~~ many advantages combined, and within their reach. They will gradually draw after them, and form there, ~~a~~ public ~~school~~ by similar tastes ~~and~~ sensible of ~~the~~ same allurements ; and Paris, without ceasing ~~to~~ be our great ~~center~~ of literary and scientific activity, will ~~no~~ longer be ~~the~~ abyss in which ~~a~~ many spirits capable of ~~a~~ more ~~useful~~ life, and worthy of a ~~large~~ fortune, are swallowed up and lost.

But ~~to~~ respond ~~to~~ their destination, such ~~schools~~ require ~~to~~ be complete ~~and~~ distinguished. If ~~the~~ ~~or~~ economic parsimony interferes, ~~it~~ will strangle ~~them~~ ~~in the infancy~~ of their birth. In these new universities, ~~and~~ ~~their~~ various faculties of literature, science, law, medicine, ~~and~~ theology (supposing ~~the~~ church ~~to~~ co-operate), it ~~is~~ essential ~~that~~ ~~the~~ object and number of ~~the~~ chairs ~~should~~ be in accordance with ~~the~~ existing ~~state~~ of knowledge, and that ~~the~~ circumstances of ~~the~~ professors ~~should~~ be ~~made~~ permanent, honourable, and easy.

An object so important ~~will~~ upon the ~~state~~ for the indispensable sacrifices. It ~~is~~ moreover, ~~the~~ disposition of ~~our~~ country ~~to~~ doubt ~~the~~ ~~reason~~ of innovations, unless they are bold and grand. To obtain a favourable reception ~~for~~ newly ~~formed~~ establishments, much should be done and required. I therefore intended, when proposing to the Chambers ~~the~~ creation of local universities, to explain this scheme of superior instruction in ~~the~~ complete extent, and to ~~show~~ all ~~the~~

conditions necessary for the success. I had studied the difficult question of the most eligible places in which to revive and encourage such establishments. The four towns of Strasbourg, Rennes, Toulouse, and Montpellier, appeared to offer the most favourable chances, and to satisfy, better than any others, the general requirements of France. I should have introduced, in this respect, a comprehensive bill, with the view of obtaining a complete result at one blow. When M. Cousin, in 1840, attempted the execution of the same idea, he adopted a different line of proceeding, and confined himself to asking for Rennes alone, already endowed with a library of law and general literature, the creation of two others, in science and medicine, introducing his bill as an experiment and sample of "the great system of superior instruction which the government intended to establish at certain points of France." Even restricted as it was within these narrow limits, the proposal suffered further mutilation. The Chamber of Deputies rejected its most important condition, the establishment of a faculty of medicine at Rennes. A bolder and more exacting bill would, in my opinion, have been met with greater success.

A third reform, moral rather than scientific, was, of all my projects with regard to superior instruction, that in which I was most intent.

When I visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, one point struck me in particular,—discipline united with liberty; the constant present and vigilant eye of a community of youths enjoying a high degree of independence, and teaching still more

tinued at the age of emancipation and superior studies. The scholars live—the greater number, at least—within the walls of the different colleges of which these Universities are composed; they live much by themselves in their private apartments, but taking their meals together, expected to attend public prayers every day, and to retire by a fixed hour at night; subject to certain rules and customs, which recall the interior economy of a family,—submission of many to one, respect for authority,—and restrain within strict duties and powerful influences the already effervescing temperament of those fresh generations, who approach the moment when they in turn will take possession of the world. There are many young men at Oxford and Cambridge, who study very little, lead irregular lives, gamble, commit baneful excesses, and run into debt; there is much liberty, but the rules are in force and make themselves felt. Authority lives in the bosom of freedom, and is present to the mind though it may fail to control the act. It is in small secluded towns, exclusively devoted to study, and far removed from the great centres of population and movement, where educational establishments meet the eye at every turn, and the pupils are incessantly in presence of their teachers, where the youth of England are trained up, under a special and wholesome system, neither subjected to vexatious exactions nor allowed to lose themselves in an undistinguished crowd; moderately enough instructed in certain points, but morally restrained and disciplined at the moment of trying their strength, and in the difficult transition from boyhood to manly maturity.

What a contrast between the system and the position of the youths who hurry to Paris to complete their higher studies, and to qualify themselves for their future professions! On leaving their schools and families, they are thrown into the immense city, alone, without guardian or counsellor; entirely emancipated from all authority and restriction, lost in the crowd, in the obscurity of their lives a prey to all the weariness of isolation, to all the contagious temptations of passion, inexperience, opportunity, and example, without moral check or support, at the critical epoch when they stand in the most urgent need of both. I have often reflected without a profound sentiment of grief at the deplorable condition of the young men who pour in crowds into our great seminaries. No one knows or is able to calculate how many of our children lose themselves entirely under this irregular and unrestricted trial, what traces of it remain, through the whole course of their after lives on the minds, ideas, and characters of those whom it has not utterly overthrown.

Why should we not place by the side of our great colleges of superior instruction, establishments in which our youths might recognise some traces of the domestic hearth, and would live in a certain communion, with enough of personal independence and liberty, but subject also to prescribed discipline, watched and sustained in their conduct, while assisted and encouraged in their studies? At the head of these institutions should be placed well-informed, respected men, fathers of families, disposed to take a serious interest in the moral cultivation as well as the studies of their young guests, and qualified to lead

them by personal influence. It was with this view, and almost under this form, that those colleges were provided in various provinces, anciently called *nations*, where the students, flocking to the lessons of the University of Paris, resided and lived in communities. The forms, regulations, and customs, of such houses were in our days, of necessity, very different from what they formerly were; but the idea and the result might be the same. The young students would be equally protected from irregularity and isolation. Out of respect to present habits and manners, I would prescribe nothing obligatory on these points. The students who preferred it might live alone and in the crowd, as they do now; but the moral advantages of the social companionship I am speaking of, would be so evident, and it would be so easy to combine with them many valuable studies also, that a great majority of the fathers of families would not hesitate to prefer it for their sons.

Such was the institution I proposed to found, and the example I wished to supply of prolonging education in the higher departments, and of exercising a certain degree of moral influence on young minds in their passage from college to the world. Far from desiring to place such establishments under the control of the State alone, I was anxious, on the contrary, that a certain number should at the same time be instituted, in origin and tendency, perfectly independent. I explained this to a worthy Catholic divine and a pious bishop, who entertained it favourably, and seemed disposed to support by their patronage the foundation of its character. I conversed on this

subject with several of my Protestant friends, who desired nothing better than to promote in concert, for the interests of their own communion, the opening of such a course of regular and laborious life. Objections and difficulties were the first steps of every sincere reformer, nevertheless there are many chances of success when moving authority is not afraid of compromising itself, and accepts unhesitatingly the co-operation of liberty.

But what is wanting in arduous enterprises, in the present day, is—time; we scarcely command a few hours of undisturbed or effectual activity. We live in the midst of tempests or dead calms, condemned alternately to shipwreck or inaction. More rapid and controlling than ourselves, events carry away our intentions before they have passed into facts, and not unfrequently before they have ripened into attempts. I have perhaps less to complain of than others from the unremitting commotion of my own time, since, as minister of Public Instruction, I have been obliged to leave some enduring traces of my passage. Nevertheless, I cannot banish certain feelings of regret when my thoughts revert to the projects I formed, believing them to be salutary, and of which even a glimpse was permitted to appear. I shall presently explain how the politics of that epoch stepped in to impede them, and involved me in questions and very different from those which I now refer.

CHAPTER V.

ACADEMIC AND LITERARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACADEMY OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES IN THE [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] FROM M. BOYER-COLLARD.—I COMMUNICATE MY PLAN TO THE SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE OLD CLASS OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES.—THE [REDACTED] SERIES.—COUNT [REDACTED] DAUNOU.—NEW ELECTIONS.—M. LAKAUME.—OF THE LABOURS OF THE ACADEMY OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES, AND OF THE GENERAL UTILITY OF ACADEMIES.—MY COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE LEARNED SOCIETIES OF THE [REDACTED].—THE ADMINISTRATION OF LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ESTABLISHMENTS.—FALSE IDEAS ON THE [REDACTED].—THE SUPPRESSION OF APARTMENTS FOR THE KEEPERS AND OFFICERS IN THE INTERIOR OF THE [REDACTED] IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ROYAL LIBRARY.—INCREASE OF THE BUDGET FOR [REDACTED] AND SCIENTIFIC [REDACTED] BUILDINGS IN THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

I ENTERED ON THE ministry of Public Instruction profoundly convinced that the time had arrived when it became an object of the first importance for the government of France, under whatever name it might be carried on, to show itself not only without fear, but an encouraging protector of the labours of the human mind, including with every other field of exercise, of moral and political sciences. I imagine, in the present day, a more false and damaging position for power, than be looked upon as a suspicious and systematic opponent of intellectual activity, when, entirely divested of incidental views of party bias, that

activity applies itself exclusively to the investigation of truth. I know the potent ties which connect abstract ideas with the positive interests of society, and how rapid is the transition from principles to facts, from theory to application. I am also aware that there are times and places in which truth, though general and purely scientific, may become perilous and embarrassing to established order. I abstain from discussing this difficult position; I think only of my own country and my own time. At the point of national life we have now reached, after the experiments we have tried, and the errors we have witnessed, order and authority, far from having anything to fear from the free, serious, and scientific development of human intelligence, should draw from it additional strength and support. Many dangerous errors will still rise up; but in the elevated regions of intelligence and society, dangerous moral and political, have ceased to sail before the wind; they are speedily recognised, opposed, and cried down. It is no longer with the higher but with the lower classes that theories calculated to promote disorder are favourably received and readily attain influence; it is not from the educated but from the ignorant world that they are to be apprehended or checked when they appear. In exalted life, the tendency of minds to correct and purify themselves. It is in the obscurest stations, and emanating from inferior quarters, that malignant spirits now congregate and ferment, perpetually increasing in their perversity. Let the government learn to place confidence in intellectual progress above; it promises help, not danger. And let it be indefatigable in resisting

intellectual disorder below: ~~It~~ will ~~the~~ frequently supply ~~the~~ occasion and necessity. For ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~case~~ that amongst ~~the~~ lower orders, ~~at~~ present, errors of ~~the~~ imagination ~~are~~ active ~~and~~ contagious, ~~and~~ ~~in~~ there ~~where~~ they rapidly transform themselves into anarchical passions and destructive deeds, and fall under ~~the~~ just ~~restraints~~ of authority.

It ~~was~~ with ~~these~~ views ~~and~~ hopes thus limited, that ~~a~~ few days after the formation of the cabinet, I proposed to the King, ~~to~~ re-establish, in ~~the~~ Institute, ~~the~~ class of moral ~~and~~ political sciences, founded in 1795 by ~~the~~ Convention, and suppressed in 1804 by Napoleon, ~~at~~ that time First Consul. Lately, ~~at~~ the highest point of the political and intellectual orgies of 1848, General Cavaignac, then at the head of the Republican Government, called upon that Academy ~~to~~ strengthen in the public mind, by the publication of little works profusely circulated, ~~the~~ fundamental principles of social order,—marriage, family ties, property, respect, and duty. With ~~a~~ good intent ~~he~~ essentially deceived himself as ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~nature~~ of ~~the~~ labours of such a community and ~~the~~ range of their action. It exceeds the province of science ~~to~~ repress anarchy, and ~~to~~ bring ~~back~~ ~~the~~ bewildered masses to reason and virtue. For such an undertaking, higher and more universal powers ~~are~~ wanting;—God and calamity. ~~It~~ ~~is~~ in regular times, by a just satisfaction given, and ~~a~~ wholesome direction imparted ~~to~~ elevated and enlightened minds, ~~that~~ learned ~~men~~ ~~can~~ exercise a salutary ~~influence~~ for ~~the~~ advantage of intellectual order, ~~and~~ may ~~thus~~ ~~in~~ power itself, ~~it~~ ~~knows~~ how to ~~regulate~~ mutual relations, an

indirect useful support. The result, neither more nor less, than I promised myself from the academy of moral and political sciences. The King and the cabinet eagerly adopted the proposition.

Nevertheless it encountered serious objections, and there were men of sound judgment who received it with little favour. In my own party, and amongst its firmest supporters of its policy, more than one was a strong mistrust of speculative philosophy, and doubted whether, with the wisest intentions, it could help to strengthen order and authority. Others, with regret, men, notorious in the worst times of the revolution, restored to honour in behalf of science, and in despite of the unpleasant reminiscences associated with their names. The direct and inevitable consequence of the proposed measure, was, in fact, to bring back, as the nucleus of the academy, the twelve members still living of the academy of moral and political sciences. Two amongst them, Abbé Sièyes and M. Merlin de Douai, had voted for the death of Louis XVI. A third, M. Garat, was minister of Justice at that sanguinary period, and read the King's sentence to him. Nearly all belonged to the sensualistic school of the eighteenth century, and accorded ill with spiritual philosophy and the sentiment of religion. The return of such an influence produced uneasiness, and a feeling of that the government should appear to become its patron.

I encountered no unanswerable evidence of this feeling in a portion of the public. M. Royer-Collard, who was absent at the moment when the restored academy was preparing its complete reformation by the election of

members, ~~was to be~~ thus: "If ~~the~~ public and the literary world ~~take~~ much interest in your academy of moral and political sciences, you have done well as regards yourself; but as it ~~appears~~ ~~to~~ me little better than an absurdity, a ~~mere~~ common-place revival, raised, moreover, on conventional ~~and~~ revolutionary foundations, I have ~~no~~ desire whatever ~~in~~ figure there. I have written ~~in~~ this effect, and some days since, to Cousin. Remove therefore my name." In compliance with this wish, a name so naturally associated with ~~the~~ institution ~~was~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ withdrawn.

M. Royer-Collard was perfectly ~~at~~ liberty, in ~~the~~ circumstance, ~~to~~ consult ~~his~~ own personal ~~views~~ and dislikes; but in my position, I should have done very wrong had I acted under a similar impulse. In my public capacity I ~~had~~ ~~an~~ ~~object~~ ~~to~~ discharge: the one, ~~to~~ re-establish ~~a~~ scientific institution which I thought good; the other, ~~to~~ place ~~the~~ institution beyond the pale of political ~~controversy~~ and dissensions, even though they might be legitimate. I well know that philosophical ideas, very contrary ~~to~~ my own, prevailed in ~~the~~ ~~views~~ of ~~the~~ Institute, from ~~the~~ original foundation, ~~and~~ would re-appear ~~with~~ its revival; but ~~I~~ had no fear, ~~that~~ within the enclosure I thus opened ~~to~~ them, ~~these~~ ideas could become powerful ~~and~~ formidable; ~~and~~ the objections of a few reminiscences of ~~the~~ revolution, were, in ~~my~~ judgment, very insignificant, in comparison with the present ~~and~~ future advantages of that brilliant demonstration, in ~~the~~ bosom of ~~a~~ free country, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ confidence of authority in the laborious and well-considered liberty of the ~~human~~ mind.

The measure being decided, I hesitated as little on the mode of execution as on the principle. I determined to make an academic appointment by royal decree. Election is the prerogative of all learned bodies, to which no man is worthily admitted except by the choice of his peers. I remembered that an able and faithful royalist, the Abbé de Montesquieu, appointed in 1816 to the French Academy, by a royal decree which removed from that community several of its members, had always refused to take his seat there, saying, "I am no academician; academicians are not made by the King." I even withheld the decree of re-establishment until I had concerted my arrangements with the surviving members of the old class of moral and political sciences who were to perform their functions. I have little objection for the forms as for the maxims of absolute power; I am easy and satisfied, as regards myself, in testifying towards all with whom I may be placed in intercourse, the respect due to intelligent and free beings. Setting aside my personal bias, power, in a majority of instances, derives much more advantage from accepting frankly the assistance of previous labour and deliberation, than from blindly provoking criticism by abrupt decision, according to its exclusive knowledge and fantasy. When it is thus, it is frequently from laziness and want of skill, than from necessity or prudence. Having determined to communicate to the old academicians the basis of my plan, I sought amongst them the one most likely to understand my views, and possessing the greatest degree of influence over his colleagues. Of all the survivors, the

Abbé Sièyes had the greatest reputation. I went to visit him accordingly. I had some difficulty in being admitted, and found him in a state of prostration of mind and memory. For a moment, during our short interview, the name of the Academy of moral and political sciences appeared to revive within him a flash of interest,—an unsteady glimmer which rapidly disappeared. I then went up to the idea of all intervention on his part in the negotiation I meditated. Looking for other names, Count Roederer appeared the most eligible for my purpose. He was a man of open disposition, flexible, judicious, liberal, learned, and despite the prepossession of many prejudices belonging to his time, exempt from passion and party obstinacy in practical matters. He was in his country residence at Matignan, and at my urgent request came immediately to Paris. I communicated to him my plan, and my views for its execution; requesting him at the same time to call his old associates together, and discuss the matter with them. He undertook the office with ardour, and on the 24th of October, I received from him the following letter:—

" Sir,

" I have read to the old members of the Academy of moral sciences of the Institute, the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me this morning.

" They highly approve the re-establishment of the Academy.

" They think, however, without dividing it into sections, it

would be better to combine in a general article the duties of the sections, and to add to them the *philosophy of history* (or the methods to be adopted in historical compositions, so as to render them, as far as possible, advantageous to morality and policy).

" They conceive that the class should be limited to thirty members, and receive the title of *Academy of Moral and Political Sciences*.

" They consider as a consequence of the restoration of the class, the restoration of all the still surviving members, and, in addition, that of the members who were only associates at the time of the dissolution, but who have since received the electoral character in one of the existing classes.

" They think it desirable to add four members to elect the fifteen others who are to make up the complement of the academy; but they are also of opinion that this addition should be made by means of *regular election*, and that the election should be considered regular until after the issuing of the decree for re-establishment.

" They think that the election ought to take place in three periods. The first, immediately after the publication of the decree: it will elect four new assistants.

" At the second election, the members, formed by the addition of the above-named assistants to the eleven members, will name eight more, amounting in all to twenty-three.

" At the third election, the twenty-three members, will elect the members who are to complete the full number of the class.

"Such, sir, is the result of a long deliberation, during which all present expressed the most favourable sentiments towards the proposed plan."

Everything in the letter was in perfect accordance with the ideas I had communicated to M. Roederer, and the decree followed immediately. But when we came to its execution, and first of all to the election, by the old members, of the four assistants, who, in concert with them, were to complete the academy, many rivalries, susceptibilities, and philosophical suspicions began to appear. The four assistants were to be taken from the other members of the Institute, and amongst the most placed foremost in choice, there appeared, very naturally, the name of M. Cousin. M. Daunou rejected it; not, as he said, that he absolutely wished to exclude M. Cousin from the academy; he considered it proper and even necessary that he should become a member; but he thought that he should be elected at a later period, and on the final completion of the class. Being pressed by objections and interrogatories, he replied that he did not wish, by electing M. Cousin amongst the four assistants, to give him an influence in the following elections, which he might abuse "for the advantage of his own doctrinal party against ours." As the discussion continued, M. Daunou ended by saying that he had no objection to the government taking upon itself the appointment of the four assistants, in the decree for the restoration of the academy, and the inclusion of M. Cousin in the number; "in a course there would be no deviation from the examples of the past, and nothing could be said against it." M. Merlin

accorded ~~with~~ ~~the~~ opinion. These academicians thus renounced ~~their~~ exclusive right to elect colleagues, and provoked the government to an ~~act~~ of its own will to ~~save~~ themselves the embarrassment of rejecting, or ~~the~~ arrogance of admitting a candidate whose philosophical doctrines ~~contradicted~~ their own. I declared ~~that~~ I would never propose ~~in~~ the King ~~among~~ the academicians himself, and ~~that~~ the old members of the re-established ~~Academy~~ were perfectly free to elect the four ~~new~~ assistants according to their pleasure. The election took place accordingly. I do not know how M. Daunou voted, but M. Cousin ~~was~~ amongst the chosen four. The ~~Academy~~ thus combined, completed the full number by two successive elections, adding respectively eight and ~~four~~ new members; and on ~~the~~ 12 of January, 1833, M. Rœderer opened the ~~sessions~~ of ~~the~~ Academy thus definitely constituted, by a speech replete with joyful satisfaction, ~~and~~ hopes a ~~little~~ inflated on the score of philosophy;—a persevering characteristic of the brilliant and stirring generation ~~to~~ which he belonged.

Two years later I met with a remarkable instance of the confident and energetic activity of these surviving ~~members~~ of 1789, in the simplest ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~most~~ important circumstances of life. I happened ~~one~~ morning, in company with others, to ~~be~~ at the house of M. de Talleyrand, who had come ~~to~~ leave from London to Paris. "Gentlemen," he said ~~to~~ ~~us~~, with a smile of ~~almost~~ almost youthful, which I have ~~more~~ than once ~~seen~~ ~~on~~ ~~his~~ cold features, "I ~~now~~ mention ~~to~~ you what happened ~~in~~ ~~the~~ yesterday. I went ~~to~~ the Chamber of Peers; ~~when~~ I entered ~~the~~ ~~hall~~ ~~we~~ only counted six

who arrived—M. de Montlosier, the Duke de Castrica, M. Roederer, Count Lemercier (I forget who he named as the fifth), and myself. We all were in the Constituent Assembly, and were all more than eighty years of age." These staunch old men were delighted to see and remark that they were still first in their post.

Another ancient, a wreck of an assembly no less celebrated, and who probably thought himself equally renowned by the great scenes and terrible consummation in which he had participated, M. Lakanal, a member of the National Convention, and one of those who voted for the death of Louis XVI., had also been a member of the Academy of moral and political sciences. It was he who, in 1795, had proposed and carried in the Convention, the regulation of the Institute, and the list of original members. In 1832, when the establishment of the academy in which he belonged came under consideration, no one, even amongst his former colleagues, either thought of or inquired what had become of him. He was believed to be dead, and was entirely forgotten. Nevertheless he survived, and had become a settler in one of the recently incorporated States of America, Alabama,—at that time the extreme limit between civilization and savage life. There he heard of the revival of the academy, and of the enrolment of his old associates. He wrote to me, demanding his privilege of resuming place amongst them. This indisputable claim was transmitted to the whole body. The death of M. Garat at that precise moment left a vacancy in the department of morals. M. Lakanal succeeded to it by right and without

election. As soon as I communicated this to him, he hesitated on returning to France, but in reply, offered his services in the United States. His mind was a singular mixture of just and confused ideas, of experimental prudence and fidelity to his revolutionary remembrances.¹ I declined his offer; M. Lakanal then returned to France, resumed his seat in the academy, and in 1845, still obscure, but with all the accompanying honours which his position entitled him.

In active exercise for twenty-seven years, the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences has fully demonstrated itself and justified its foundation. It has been governed by the spirit of political party and philosophic intolerance. Some symptoms have occasionally appeared there as the natural consequences of liberty, but they have always been counterbalanced and restrained. Such a result arises from the continual intercourse of members differing in position and opinions, but united in a common predilection and respect for science and truth. In its dealings, whether with the public or the government, the academy has invariably given proofs of independence and moderation. On all occasions it has strenuously opposed disorder, and boldly seconded the regular progress of mind. The published reports of their sittings and the collection of their papers attest the intellectual activity of its members. By the emulation it has excited and the questions proposed, it has given rise, beyond its own immediate sphere of action, to many important and some very remarkable advances in philosophy, history, legislation,

¹ See Documents, No. VIII.

political economy, and all the [] and difficult sciences [] which [] devoted. Men of merit, previously unknown, laborious [] distinguished youths, have [] brought into notice and placed on [] of elevated study and substantial []. Nothing can be more ill-timed and unintelligent in the present day [] opposition [] academies. We live under a [] of society more equally balanced [] careful of the general good than [] hitherto prevailed in the greater part of human associations; but [] are deficient in varied centres, enduring groups, strongly cemented aggregations, and independent impulses. We have a society [] once dissolved and concentrated, which exhibits everywhere the [] individual in face of [] all-powerful unity of [] State. We have long sought, and hitherto without success, [] remedy in political order for these deficiencies in a social condition, which, in conjunction with great public advantages, leaves weakly-established rights, ill-secured liberties, and individual existences equally languishing and unsettled. Academies offer, in [] present day, and for [] influence of intellectual order, the natural and almost [] only remedy for [] weighty [] in our general society. They assemble under a pacific [] imposing any yoke or [] unity, illustrious men, who without this [] would continue strangers [] each other; and by mutual association they [] obtain, with [] enjoyments of liberal intercourse, means of influence and [] independence. In [] outer world they draw cultivated minds [] and questions [] which they can exercise and satisfy

themselves without running into extremes; they restrain them within certain limits of ~~moderation~~ and convenience, while exciting their activity ~~and~~ supporting ~~the~~ freedom.

Prepossessed with these ideas, I endeavoured to apply them beyond ~~the~~ confines of Paris, and ~~to~~ obtain ~~the~~ co-operation of the learned societies in ~~the~~ provinces, for the sound regulation and progress ~~of~~ intellectual order. The number of ~~these~~ communities, ~~the~~ strong attachment borne ~~to~~ them by the greater portion ~~of~~ their members, the favour in which they ~~are~~ generally held in the elective councils of their departments and towns, prove that they are imbued with animated sentiments which seek only the opportunity of development. But the leading element of success is ~~often~~ wanting in these liberal associations,—public sympathy and notoriety. Many of them languish for ~~a~~ of full light, and their ~~zealous~~ members ~~are~~ discouraged by being alternately deprived of ~~the~~ of study they require, and of their just proportion of credit after labours accomplished. Some generous spirits,—amongst others, a learned French archæologist, and one ~~of~~ the ~~active~~ correspondents of the Academy of Inscriptions and Polite Literature, M. de Caumont,—endeavoured, either by scientific ~~means~~ or by ~~the~~ formation of local societies, fictionally united under ~~the~~ name of Provincial Institutes, ~~a~~ general although ~~the~~ community, ~~to~~ impart ~~to~~ ~~the~~ motion and productive publicity in which they were deficient. I am unable to estimate correctly what was, or to predict what might have been, the success of these efforts; but, be

as it may, it was my opinion, in 1834, that the moral power was called upon to lend its aid to the work; and after having obtained precise information on the state of the literary associations of France, I addressed a circular to all, inviting them to establish, between the minister of Public Instruction and themselves a regular correspondence. "The societies," I said, "will make me acquainted with the particular nature of their present labours, and those they wish to undertake; with the resources they stand in need of in every class, whether books, instruments, or scientific information. I shall endeavour to supply them with all that they require to assist their free exertions, and shall to be published every year, under the auspices of the government, a first collection of the most important papers read in the principal literary communities of the kingdom, and subsequently a condensed general report of their labours, drawn from their own individual statements or from the reports submitted to me; thus perpetuating a correct monument of the intellectual activity of the country,—at least, as it manifests itself through the organ of scientific associations."

To convince the societies that in addressing them I was actuated by mere administrative curiosity, and to show the importance to my proposition, I added, to motives drawn from their own interest, another of general and superior importance. "At the moment," I said, "when popular instruction expands in every quarter, and when the progress of which it is the object ought to be a great and permanent one amongst

the classes devoted to manual labour, is
the classes in more easy circumstances,
who employ themselves in intellectual occupations,
should subside into indifference and apathy. In pro-
portion elementary instruction becomes general and
active, it is indispensable that in the superior branches
of study the labours of exalted science should advance
in a similar ratio. If the progress of intelligence goes
on increasing with the masses, whilst it prevailed
amongst the higher orders of society, sooner or later a
dangerous perturbation will ensue. I consider it,
therefore, a duty imposed on the government, for the
interest of society at large, to impart, as far as in it lies,
a powerful impulse to elevated study and pure science,
as much as to practical and popular instruction." Finally, to dissipate beforehand, in the literary associa-
tions of the departments, the mistrust I anticipated, I
concluded thus:—"There is no question here of any
centralization of business or power. I have no intention
of infringing on the liberty or individuality of the
learned societies, or of imposing on them any general
organization as a ruling idea. The issue is
simply to transmit them, from a central centre, the
means of successful exertion which they could derive
from no other quarter, and for them to return to the
source the fruits of their activity to be disseminated
in a more extensive sphere. Far from abstracting any
portion of their local independence or importance from
the learned societies, the measure is calculated, on the
contrary, to increase and augment both, by giving in-
creased efficacy and scope to their efforts."

This circular, despatched ■ seventy-five learned ■ scattered over the kingdom, excited a ■ degree of stir and expectation. Several of them commenced ■ animated correspondence ■ my department. I forwarded to them books, national and foreign documents, scientific information, and small sums of money to assist them in their researches ■ local publications. One of my ■ in the ministry of ■ Instruction, M. de Salvandy, resumed in 1837 ■ in 1846, ■ the ■ ardour ■ threw into all ■ undertakings, the work thus commenced; he ■ and obtained ■ the Chambers ■ special section in the budget, devoted to the learned associations, and endowed with fifty thousand francs. This ■ he divided amongst sixty of the number,—a mode of support I am far from considering ■ generally futile, but which in this particular case I cannot look upon as the most necessary ■ efficacious. Encouragement ought to be bestowed on the persons and their works: ■ consideration rather than pecuniary aid is of leading importance ■ learned bodies. What they pre-eminently desire ■ to find themselves recognised and appreciated in the literary world. I proposed ■ employ, in my department, ■ or two distinguished men in an assiduous systematic correspondence with ■ societies, and ■ prepare, in concert with them, ■ publications ■ which they ■ the object. This kind of encouragement, I venture ■ think, would have been more agreeable and serviceable to them ■ a small ■ of ■ limited allocation.

I should say nothing in respect to some ■

of little importance which I introduced in various scientific and literary establishments, libraries, museums, and collections dependent on my ministry, my on points not been, and still continue materially different from which obtain credit in the present day. I am therefore anxious with precision what my intentions and conduct towards these several communities.

I am a steady partizan of monarchy and administrative government. France owes to both of her prosperity and progress. I am sincerely grateful to the Emperor Napoleon I. having said M. de Fontanes, "Leave at least the republic of letters;" and I adopt these words more seriously than perhaps Napoleon himself when he uttered them. The system of administrative monarchy, its intractable unity, its monotonous bearing from head to foot, its frigid prepossession for things rather than persons, its severity against disorder, and its of sympathy with liberty,—all these characteristics are unsuited to the region in which the literary and scientific character holds rule. Such establishments require a large share of independence and spontaneous action, of variety and personal government. Not to gratify vain whims, but from the very nature of the men with whom treat, and specially treated of in such cases. General and superior administration requires rules and agents; above all things, it fears and rejects individual caprices, unforeseen acts, anomalies, and It is ill suited to the management of scholars and philosophers, men accustomed and disposed to invent, criti-

cise, to determine their own plans and labours, and with whom it is necessary to converse incessantly, instead of simply sending them a copy of instructions or a formal circular. The government place over them an agent analogous to itself, a petty administrative sovereign? In that case, the artists and philosophers are controlled, take offence, the government incurs their opposition and ill-humour; they resign, and nullify themselves, leaving the affairs of letters and science to be managed by more strangers to their necessities, their tastes, their desires, their pleasures, their studies, and their books; who may perhaps introduce order into literary establishments, while they utterly destroy their vitality. Then follows a general feeling of astonishment that letters languish and scholars become idle!

Let me cite an example of the mischief into which authority falls, and the mischief it does, when it applies purely administrative to literary and scientific establishments. In doing this, I shall select one of the instances most favourable to government, a case in which plausible motives are given to justify the measures adopted. For a long time, and under the parliamentary system, as at present, the apartments assigned in the scientific establishments to the keepers, professors, and different officers who exercise their functions on that spot, have been condemned as abuses. Their dwellings have been alternately pronounced too numerous, too spacious, or too magnificent. I have already inserted the stinging answer of an illustrious scholar to these repeated complaints. To put an end to abuse, this

practice has recently been abolished in the Imperial Library; it has been decided that no keeper or officer should any longer live within the walls, and an indemnity has been granted to those who were in consequence expelled. This was intended and believed to be an act of judicious legislation; but it evinces a profound misunderstanding of the nature and moral power of scientific establishments, whilst it strikes a heavy blow against scholastic life and habits. A public library, a museum of natural history, the conservatories of great collections, are in the eyes of the men intrusted with their charge, with the care of enriching them, of giving lectures on their contents, very different places from the mere buildings in which they perform their duties. They become the home of their souls; a country in which they live surrounded by the instruments of their labour and the pleasures of their thought. I might call them laical convents devoted to science, in which men freely enclose themselves, to whom science is their all in all, constituting their employment and recreation. They do much more than receive the public there, and reply to their questions; they themselves work the mine of wealth they dig over; the libraries and museums in which they live are their personal laboratories. It is by means of this continued cohabitation, this material intimacy, if I may say so, myself, with the monuments and repositories of science, that the chief portion of the great works emanating from thence have been prepared and completed by the resident members of the various establishments. It is to be expected that the same sentiments will develop

themselves, the ties be preserved, and the obtained, when establishments become deserted buildings, except on certain days, at particular hours, when the keepers and professors repair thither with the public to discharge a task, retire soon as it is concluded, and within their own homes those studious domestic enjoyments no longer associated in their minds with the halls and buildings in which they have ceased to reside? The city and the family of literature have been broken up. Scattered functionaries, though they were the learned and punctilious in the world, cannot replace them.

We are too often inclined to suffer ourselves to be exclusively prepossessed with certain faults and evils which corrupt the mind and ruin the temper, and forget or sacrifice in the desire for their abolition the valuable advantages with which they are combined. I am an advocate for abuses; but I would rather nourish two or three parasitical plants around the tree than weaken or pull down the tree itself. I believe, moreover, by a persevering measures of inspection and publicity, it would be easy to anticipate or reform the greater part of the complaints raised against the administration of literary establishments, without depriving them of their essential character. At this as it may, when, in November, 1832, I was called upon by the demands and committees of the Chambers themselves, to apply certain modifications to the system of the Royal Library, I found the greatest care they should in no way sacrifice the ancient independence, or what I may

■■■ ■■ literary autonomy of that establishment. I left the interior government ■■■ assembly of its conservators ; ■ merely imposed on them ■■ obligation of recommending, of their own accord, ■■ chosen from amongst themselves, by ■■ presentation of three candidates, ■ president of the conservatory, who would act, within, ■■■ executive power, and would constitute, without, their representative with the general administration. I ■■■ introduced into the establishment ■ principle of unity and responsibility, without interfering with the dignity of its learned heads, ■■ depriving them of their natural privileges. I ■■■ strengthened the position of the superior and inferior officers of the library, by giving them, through their own nomination and advancement, important securities against the spon- ■■■ and arbitrary action of the central power.

The government of ■■ Museum of Natural History might have been susceptible of ■■■ analogous reforms ; but they ■■■ less loudly called for by ■■ public, and the heads of the establishment, all professors of reputation, appeared to look upon them with greater dread. I therefore left untouched their old organization, under which science and teaching ■■■ made satisfactory progress, and ■■ which it had imparted ■■ much brilliancy.

I effected for these two societies a ■■■ of more importance ■■■ prosperity of literature and science, than the suppression of a few houses, and a trifling number of administrative irregularities, by asking and obtaining from the Chambers ■■ considerable increase ■■ their dotation. From 1833 to 1837, the ordinary budget of ■■ Museum of Natural History was ■■■ ried from 337,000 ■■ 434,000 francs ; and that of the

Royal Library, from 205,000 to 274,000; an augmentation of one-third, principally applied to placing in good order and enriching the matériel of the establishment.

In virtue of the law for extraordinary public works, proposed by M. Thiers on the 29th of April, 1833, and promulgated on the 27th of June following, a sum of 2,400,000 francs was appropriated for the extension of the grounds belonging to the Museum of Natural History, and for the erection of a mineralogical gallery and numerous greenhouses, long desired by the labours of the professors, and to gratify the curiosity of the public. King Louis-Philippe laid the first stone of the mineralogical gallery on the 1st of July, 1833, on the occasion of which ceremony I accompanied him. The crowd was enormous, including all the learned members of the Museum, the habitual visitors, the students, and the national guard of the quarter. In the name of that public, I thanked the King for the additional aid he thus placed at the disposal of science, of employing its riches to their full advantage. "It is your destiny, sire," I said to him, "as it will also be your glory, in trifling as in great affairs, to accomplish what has been projected, to terminate what has been begun, to reach the end universally desired, to satisfy the moderate necessities of science, as well as the all-powerful interests of society." In these words I expressed the sentiments of all who then listened to them. The sincerest hopes are presumptuous; but men would have their hearts freeze within them, would sink into apathy, could they but divine the uncertainty of their works, and the future concealed from their view.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL STUDIES.

MORAL AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES.
 OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS BEFORE 1818.—
 INTRODUCTION OF THE HISTORICAL STUDIES OF HISTORY IN THE
 SCHOOLS OF FRANCE AND LIMITS OF THE STUDIES.
 OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SCHOOLS OF FRANCE.
 —LETTER FROM M. AUGUSTINE THIERRY TO THE MINISTRY OF
 EDUCATION OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.—I PRO-
 POSE THE PUBLICATION, BY THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
 OF A LARGE COLLECTION OF IMMEDIATE DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE
 HISTORY OF FRANCE.—THE CHAIRS OF THIS QUESTION.
 —MY REPORT TO KING CHARLES X. FROM THE KING.
 —M. MICHELET AND M. EDGAR QUINCY.—OF THE ACTUAL
 OF STUDIES IN THE GENERAL AND LOCAL HISTORY OF FRANCE, AND
 OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE STUDIES.

Our tastes easily become manias, and an idea which has long and powerfully possessed us, assumes an importance in our estimation to which vanity often lends too much faith. Nevertheless, the more I reflect, the more I feel convinced that I have not exaggerated to myself the interest which a nation ought to take in its own history; nor the advantage it gains in political intelligence as well as in moral dignity, by completely understanding and attaching itself to this subject. In the long series of successive generations, denominated a people, how rapidly each passes away! And in that short space how narrowly the horizon bounded!

How insignificant is the place we occupy, and how little we see with our own eyes! We require to magnify our thoughts, that we may be able to take a serious view of life. Religion opens the future and places us in presence of eternity. History brings back the past and holds to our existence the lives of our fathers. When we turn to them, our perceptions rise and extend. When we thoroughly know them, we acquire a better knowledge and comprehension of ourselves. Our destiny, our present situation, the circumstances which surround and the necessities which press upon us, become clear and natural in our eyes. We do not only gratify science and imagination, by thus associating ourselves with the events and persons that have preceded us on the same soil and under the same heaven, but we take from the ideas and passions of the day much of their bitter sourness. Amongst a people interested and well instructed in their own history, we are almost sure of finding a more wholesome and equitable judgment on their present affairs, the conditions of their progress, and their chances for the future.

The same idea and hope by which I had been governed and animated in my course of lectures at the Sorbonne, on the development of French civilization, followed me at the ministry of Public Instruction, and regulated my efforts to revive and expand the love for, and study of our national history. From the first, assuredly, I looked for no rapid or widely-spreading effect, either in the abatement of political passions or in the correction of popular prejudices. I knew well already how deeply they were rooted, and how powerful

and repeated blows from the hand of God himself necessary ■ extirpate them. But I expected that in Paris, in the first instance, in the centre of ■■■■■ and ideas, and subsequently in various parts of France, ■ certain number of intelligent spirits would acquire more correct and impartial notions of the different elements of what French society ■ composed, of their mutual relations and rights, and of the value of their historical traditions in the ■■■ social combinations of our own days. I ■■■ not disheartened by the inevitable slowness of this intellectual progress, ■■■ by the still more tardy ■■■ of ■ public influence. There is pride in ■■■ pretension of reforming the errors of our time; those who indulge in it ■■■ be content with even a glimpse of ■■■■■. They preach patience ■ nations in the pursuit of their desires; let them learn ■ practise patience themselves in their own labours and hopes.

Before 1830, I had obtained, ■■■ only with the public and by my lectures, ■■■ in the general system of public instruction, some important results in respect ■ the study of history. This study ■■■ not even named in the law which, under the Consulate, in 1802, had re-established secondary education. "In the lyceums will be taught," says the tenth article, "the classical languages, rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy, ■■■ the elements of mathematical and physical science." A step was made in the statute, by which ■■■ council of ■■■ University, in 1814, regulated the discipline and course ■ study in the colleges; instruction in history and geography ■■■ then introduced, but in a very accessory form. The professors of the ■■■ lan-

guages were ordered to undertake these branches in addition to their literary teaching. During the summer months, from the 1st of April to the vacations, half an hour was added to the evening classes; "and half-hour," says Article 129, "will be exclusively devoted to geography and history." It was not until 1818 that a decisive and effective measure was brought into operation. M. Royer-Collard and M. Cuvier, with whom I had often considered the subject, carried a resolution to the following effect:—

" COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

" Seeing the present arrangement in the colleges, which assigns to the professors during the summer months an additional half-hour at the termination of every evening class, for giving instruction in history and geography;

" And considering that the intent of this regulation has been generally carried out to the present time, and that it is desirable to give to the department of classical study the full development required by the wants of society and the wishes of families;

" IT IS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:—

" Instructions in history and geography in such royal and departmental colleges as will be pointed out by the committee will henceforward be intrusted to a professor or substitute specially appointed."

The result responded to the expectation. Special professors of history were named, with suitable appointments; instruction in the various epochs

was distributed through the successive classes; history and geography assumed their due share in the honours of general competition their place in the schools of the

A year later, in 1820, the committee of Public Instruction, when communicating to the professors the new plan of teaching, determined very judiciously its scope and character. "The professor," it said, "will form the true idea of the advantages expected from his zeal, if he believes himself called upon to enter into the development and discussion of high criticism which belong to more exalted instruction. This is not to be considered a faculty class. The professor can only expect to become useful to his pupils by measuring their standard. The class must be formed for them, and not for himself. His object being to impress on their memories the leading facts of history, the knowledge of which is laboriously and imperfectly acquired, he must not seek other sources of interest than the simple exposition of historical events, and the natural connection subsisting between them. Above all, he must avoid every allusion that might lead his pupils into the field of politics, and supply food for party discussion."

Notwithstanding this reserve, when influence, in the first place, and power afterwards, passed into the hands of M. de Villèle, rather of his party, historical teaching became suspected; and in the course of the day,—particularly in the statute drawn up in September, 1821, for the government of the colleges,—a concealed hostility was perceptible, if not to abolish the department

altogether, ■ least to reduce and ■ it into the shade.

But the effort ■ visibly embarrassed ■ timid. At that epoch it ■ the fault and misfortune of the parties in conflict, whether friends or enemies of the Restoration, ■ fear each other too much, and mutually to overrate their power. Their reciprocal apprehensions ■ exceeded their actual dangers, and they threatened more than they struck. In spite of the proclaimed suspicions and hostile ■ of what ■ called ■ Association against the University ■ its progress, when ■ Restoration fell, not only did the University remain unshaken, but in ■ bosom, and in the different gradations of public instruction, in the colleges ■ in ■ faculties, historical teaching was established.

The system of ■ ■ uneasiness ■ ■ the security of ■ teaching in ■ colleges, but injured it in the higher departments. Several of ■ ■ expo- ■ dedicated themselves entirely ■ political life, and historical labours ■ suffered from the ■ of the disorganization of minds. M. Augustine Thierry, ■ ■ time ill and almost blind, and living ■ ■ brother Amédée, then Prefect of the Upper Saône, wrote thus to me from Luxeuil on the 3rd of September, 1833 :—
“ Do you believe, my dear friend, that my presence in Paris would be of any service to historical studies? Our school ■ dissolved by your general pension; nothing remains of it but ■ few fragments, which ■ disappearing from day ■ day. I could collect them together and make myself a centre; and, in truth, the ■ ■ pressing. See what light and unsteady teach-

ing [] already become popular. [] published in books [] extraordinary. Under the [] of history people compose dithyrambics and poetry. You have established a conservator of historical monuments. Create also a preserver of style and method in history; without which, before four years have expired, no trace will remain of what has cost us all, and you in particular, so much anxiety and labour. I will devote to this work the remnant of my life. Place me in a position [] live in Paris; let your justice decide [] the rights I have acquired by what I have done and [] for science, and Providence [] accomplish the rest."

I [] more impatient than any [] else to open new sources of wholesome strength and prosperity [] the studies [] which I was [] warmly attached, and which I [] seriously endangered. Public feeling came [] my assistance. If superior instruction in history had [] a considerable check, [] for historical researches and reflections was evidently [] tending, and [] intellectual gratification, with the chance of literary fame, local or general, [] many active minds who [] neither attracted [] encouraged by political life. Several of my friends communicated [] me their project for founding, under the title of *Society of the History of France*, [] association specially devoted to the publication of original documents relative [] our national history, and with a view to disseminate, either by correspondence regularly carried on, [] by [] monthly *Bulletin*, [] general knowledge of the scattered and [] glected labours of which it was the object. I hastened [] give [] plan my [] and co-operation. We met

together on the 27th of June, 1833, the number of twenty institutors; we arranged the bases of the association, and a little more than six months later, on the 1st of January, 1834, the *Society of the History of France*, reckoning already one hundred members, formed itself into a general assembly, adopted definitive regulations, appointed a council to superintend its labours, and took the helm in all activity. What it has since accomplished during twenty-five years is well known. It has printed seventy-one volumes of memoirs and unpublished documents, nearly all of the highest interest to our history, and many containing authentic discoveries, equally curious and important for the amateur and the professional scholar. It has expended on these publications 360,000 francs (£14,440). It has excited throughout the country, and in a multitude of small towns entirely without scientific establishments, an inquisitive investigation of their own local annals, with all their reminiscences and documents. At present it enumerates 400 members; and this number continually increasing, the importance of its publications, the extent of its correspondence, and the regularity and interest of its monthly *Bulletin*, all tend to secure a long and productive future.

But even at the moment of its establishment, and from my interviews with its most zealous founders, I was convinced that it would be far short of the imposed task, and that the government alone possessed the literary and financial resources indispensable for such work. I resolved to undertake it, as minister of Public Instruction, and to give it, from the beginning,

the extent ■■■ brilliancy which would alone incline the Chambers ■ the large contributions I should be compelled ■ ■■ from them. In intellectual ■ in political arrangements, it ■ by great expectations and demands that human sympathy and activity ■■ stirred up ■ energetic efforts. I had several ends to attain. I wished ■ seek out, collect together, and place in ■ security, throughout ■ France, the ■■■■■ of ■ history which had not perished in the revolutionary spoliations and destructions. I ■■ anxious ■ select, in the local archives thus restored, and in those of the state, whether diplomatic or military, every important document of national history, and to publish them in succession, without wounding any public interest or convenience, and also without puerile timidity. To execute such ■ labour worthily, required ■■ association of ■■ eminent in historical study, to decide, either in committee with the minister of Public Instruction, on the importance and merit of the documents, or individually ■ superintend their publication. It ■■ also essential, that throughout the entire country, the local scholars and archaeologists should enter into ■■ correspondence with the minister and his council, ■ point out ■ them ■■ concealed treasures, ■■ ■■ assist in their exhumation. Under these conditions alone could the work respond ■ the idea, and produce a collection of hitherto unpublished documents calculated ■ throw living light, ■■ on a single period ■ province, but on ■■ entire series of ages ■■ multiplied theatres of ■■ long and energetic ■■ of France.

In ■■ financial budget presented to the Chamber of

Deputies on 10th of January, 1834, I demanded a special allocation of 120,000 francs, to commence this undertaking. Opposition was raised against such a novel and heavy expenditure. The committee specially charged with the examination of the budget of my department proposed to reduce it to 50,000 francs. The general committee of the budget called upon the Chamber to reject it altogether. I supported my proposal. The debate was animated and embroiled. I found supporters amongst my adversaries, and adversaries amongst my friends. M. Garnier-Pagès accused me of endeavouring to draw away from the journals, the young writers who maintained principles, attract and detain them in studies unconnected with politics. In reply, M. Mauguin congratulated himself and me on the publicity I proposed to give to political archives and correspondence; an excellent school, he said, in which to form the politicians of whom France stood in need, and added: "When you have only created a few of these, you will be indemnified a hundred-fold for your expenses." M. de Sade and M. Pagès de l'Ariège, M. Pelet de la Lozère, and M. Gillon, adduced more serious arguments for and against my demand; the passion of economy and the love of science mutually opposed. The Chamber placed confidence in me on such questions as these, and received with favour measures of a liberal character not interfering with the policy of order and resistance. I gained my cause. As soon as the budget was voted, I presented a report to the King, in which I explained, in detail, my motives and hopes, my plan and executive of the undertak-

ing.¹ On returning it, he follows: "My dear minister; I have read with much interest your report you have transmitted to me this morning. You will find it enclosed and confirmed by my approbation. You have undertaken a great and arduous work. The thought is worthy of you, and the execution could not be intrusted to hands more capable of assuring success. I find in this a reason for being thankful that I have such a minister." Thus supported by the great public authorities, I immediately applied myself to the task.

The goodwill and effective activity with which I was surrounded by all the friends of historical study, soon became certain guarantees of a happy result. Messrs. Augustin Thierry, Mignet, Fauriel, Guérard, Cousin, Auguste Le Prévost, and General Pelet, anxiously hastened, not only to associate themselves with the labours of the central committee instituted in my ministry, but to superintend themselves the first important publications destined to inaugurate the collection. The number and zeal of our distinguished correspondents in all provinces rapidly increased. Eighty-nine were enrolled by December, 1834, when I sent them my report to the King, and general instructions as to their labours and prospect. Five months later, in May, 1835, either by voluntary accession or new nominations, the number reached one hundred and fifty-three. It thus became evident that a national and scientific sentiment was excited and satisfied.

I find amongst the MSS. I have preserved connected with this epoch, many which I

¹ See Historic Documents, No. IX.

read without any impression of sad and affectionate regret: a report from M. Michelet, and the MSS. and archives of the south-west of France, which I had commissioned him to visit, and a letter from M. Edgar Quinet, who offered me assistance in the search for and publication of inedited documents. With both, I had entered into important and friendly communications. M. Quinet's translation of the great work of Herder, on the history of humanity, and the remarkable *Introduction* with which he accompanied it, had inspired me with a lively interest for him. By my own selection, M. Michelet officiated for a time as substitute in my chair at Sorbonne, and upon my recommendation was called to the Tuileries to give lessons in history, to her Royal Highness, Mademoiselle, now Duchess of Parma, and subsequently to the young princesses, daughters of King Louis-Philippe. The report, which I received from him, dated in 1835, is simple and clear, a purely archaeological journey without pretension or fantasy. M. Quinet's letter, written on the 18th of May, 1834, runs thus: "If you thought the publication of the epic fragments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries might, with propriety, be comprised in your collection, I would readily apply myself to the work. I should be equally at your disposal if it entered into your plan to explore the libraries of Germany, Italy, and Spain, an occupation I should prefer above all others. In any case, I should be happy to receive your instructions on the subjects which constitute my daily studies, and to be enabled thus to profit directly from

your information." Here are two more rare and generous spirits, afterwards seduced and attracted by the evil genius of their time into ■ impure chaos, and who outweigh, in personal value, their ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

I have nothing ■ say in regard ■ ■ collection itself ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ commenced under my supervisorship. In ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ midst of ■ ■ ■ troubles of the day and in spite of the fall of kings, republics, and ministers, this work ■ ■ ■ advanced and developed itself, ■ ■ ■ rapidly ■ ■ ■ could have been looked for in tranquil times. The collection ■ ■ ■ pre- ■ ■ ■ reaches 114 volumes, and amongst them are included several of the most important, and until then the least-known monuments of the past history of France. Experienced masters, and their most eminent disciples in historical study, continue to bestow their care on these publications. The ministry of Public Instruction has, ■ ■ ■ present, three hundred correspond- ■ ■ ■ in the departments, collected round this centre of national research. Nothing is wanting ■ ■ ■ enable the public ■ ■ ■ appreciate fully the work, its original ideas, and progressive execution. Let ■ ■ ■ be permitted ■ ■ ■ record ■ ■ ■ single fact which touches myself. When, in the month of February, 1836, the Cabinet of ■ ■ ■ 11th of October, 1832, was dissolved, and I quitted the ministry of Public Instruction, my ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ in that department, Count Pelet de ■ ■ ■ Lomère, ordered ■ ■ ■ report ■ ■ ■ be delivered to ■ ■ ■ of the historical labours accomplished, commenced, or ordered, in compliance with my instructions. ■ ■ ■ report, ■ ■ ■ the 23rd of March, 1836, records minutely ■ ■ ■ impulse given

and the progress already imparted, the path I had opened. I venture to insert it amongst the "Historic Documents" appended to these "Memoirs."¹

I have mentioned the political expectation, real and animated, though distant, which, in my opinion, from the first moment, united it with the scientific value of these labours. This hope has not abandoned me. Even in the present day, in the period of social convulsions as yet imperfectly restrained, if an impartial and enlightened observer were to visit France, he would find in every quarter, in all towns, great and small, and even in the most remote country districts, unpretending, well-instructed, and hard-working men, devoted with a feeling of enthusiasm to the study of the general or local history of their country. If he entered into conversation with them, he would be struck by the justness of their sentiments and the freedom of their minds on the old as well as on the new of French society; and he would find it difficult to believe that so many sound ideas, expanded over the entire land, can always remain without influence on the dispositions and destinies of the people.

¹ Historic Documents, No. X.

CHAPTER VII.

INTERNAL POLICY.

TRUE CHARACTER OF THE POLICY OF RESISTANCE FROM 1880 TO 1886.—STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE CHAMBERS IN 1882.—NOMINATION OF PEERS.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRD PARTY IN THE CHAMBERS OF DEPUTIES.—M. DUPIN PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBERS. MEMBERS, DUBOIS DE MANTON AND BAUDE.—DEBATE ON THE BUDGET OF 1882 AND 1883.—GOOD ATTITUDE OF THE CHAMBERS OF THIS PERIOD.—OF THE JOURNALS. THEY FOUND IN THE CHAMBERS OF DEPUTIES.—OF THE JOURNALS.—WHAT COURSE AUTHORITY SHOULD HOLD WITH REGARD TO THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.—PROSECUTION OF THE 'TRIBUNE' BEFORE THE CHAMBERS OF DEPUTIES.—DEBATE ON THE BUDGET OF 1884.—DEBATE BETWEEN M. DUPIN AND M. BAUDE.—ALTHOUGH A SERIES OF REPUBLICAN AND ANARCHICAL ATTACKS.—LAW AGAINST PUBLIC MEETINGS.—LAW AGAINST THE PRESS.—THE BUDGET OF FIVE MILLIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.—THE BUDGET AND RETIREMENT OF THE DUKE DE SASSO.—REMAINS IN THE CHAMBERS.—DEBATE ON THE BUDGET OF 1884, AT LYONS, AND SEVERAL OTHER DEBATES.—THEIR REFERENCE TO THE COURT OF PEERS.—DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBERS.—ELECTIONS FAVOURABLE TO THE CHAMBERS OF THE SITUATION.—ATTITUDE OF THE THIRD PARTY.—INTERNAL POLICY OF THE CABINET.—QUESTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ALGERIA.—MARSHAL SOULT.—HIS RETIREMENT.—MARSHAL GÉRARD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.—OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1885.—ADDRESS OF THE CHAMBERS OF DEPUTIES.—QUESTION OF THE BUDGET.—DEBATE OF MEMBERS. DUCHÂTEL, HUMANN, RIGNY, THIERS, AND OTHERS.—OF THE CHAMBERS.—SUDDEN DISSOLUTION.—WE RETURN TO POWER WITH MARSHAL MORTIER AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.—M. DE MANTON RETIRES FROM

THE TREASURY IN LONDON.—DEATH AND FUNERAL OF M. DE LA FAYETTE.—MY MISUNDERSTANDING WITH M. [REDACTED] WEAKNESS AND [REDACTED] IN THE CABINET.—MINISTERIAL CRIME.—THE KING AND THE DUKE DE BEOGLIE.—M. THIERS.—THE DUKE DE BEOGLIE RESIGNS OFFICE AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—[REDACTED] OF THE RECONSTRUCTED CABINET.—TRIAL OF THE ACCUSED OF APRIL BEFORE THE [REDACTED] OF PEACE.—RETURN OF [REDACTED] FROM SIMONI ASSASSINATION.—LAW OF SEPTEMBER.—STRONG POSITION OF THE [REDACTED] INCIDENT.—M. HUMANN AND THE CONVERSION OF THE FUNDS.—CRISIS AND DISSOLUTION OF THE CABINET OF THE 11TH OF OCTOBER, [REDACTED].

(From 1830 to 1836.)

MANY persons will think that [REDACTED] quitting [REDACTED] calm regions dedicated to the progress of public intelligence, [REDACTED] re-enter the tumultuous arena of [REDACTED] politics, I experienced a feeling of painful and fatiguing contrast. [REDACTED] not [REDACTED] I have [REDACTED] with what object and under what idea the cabinet [REDACTED] formed: [REDACTED] all sincerely anxious to [REDACTED] in France a legal and liberal government; [REDACTED] considered the work beautiful in itself, glorious for ourselves, and salutary for our country; [REDACTED] prosecuted it with ardour and confidence, whatever might be the difficulties and dangers. The policy of resistance, at that epoch, has often been denounced [REDACTED] negative and sterile, without expanded views [REDACTED] greatness. I [REDACTED] imagine an accusation [REDACTED] rational, [REDACTED] one which more completely reveals [REDACTED] what [REDACTED] even enlightened minds can [REDACTED] and reduced by revolutionary spectacles and practices. The policy [REDACTED] resistance, after 1830, attempted precisely the greatest, the most difficult, and the newest work which a government [REDACTED] [REDACTED] hope [REDACTED] accomplish; for in struggling against [REDACTED] [REDACTED] undertook [REDACTED]

conquer by the laws alone, and by laws enacted and applied in presence of liberty. What could be greater than the reign of law, of one general, permanent, acknowledged rule, in place of the personal, variable, incalculable caprices of any one man of men? It is the noblest human society make assimilate political order to the divine order which governs the world. And what could be more difficult or novel in country given for twenty-five years to revolutions despotism, and the day following a fresh revolution, under which the first serious attempt of representative monarchy had failed and yielded? In days, the legal political system rests on two conditions: the first is, that before being established, the law must be freely discussed by the great powers of the state, under the public eye, and by the public itself; the second, that law, established, must be scrupulously respected by the people and the ruling powers, whatever may be the obstacles attached to that respect. Let the origin and form of any particular authority, the extent and guarantees of any specific privilege, be argued and reviewed without limit; wherever these two conditions, the free preliminary discussion and faithful observance of the law, are really fulfilled, society may its confidence; it is treading in the paths of true liberty and greatness.

King Louis XVIII, in founding constitutional archy, brought France back to these paths. Charles X. her forcibly from them. Carried to the throne by violence, King Louis-Philippe immediately restored and instructed her to march in them. He had no

strong ~~will~~ in the ~~will~~ development of the constitutional system in France; but ~~he was~~ profoundly convinced of ~~the~~ necessity, and resolved ~~to~~ co-operate zealously in the task. He entertained, moreover, a sincere respect for the general rights of ~~the~~ nation, ~~the~~ ~~the~~ equal administration of justice, and for ~~the~~ oath he had taken when accepting the ~~office~~. The law appeared ~~to~~ him the safest buckler for the throne, as well ~~as~~ ~~for~~ the citizens. He made the legal system the ~~basis~~ of ~~the~~ internal policy, ~~and never~~ suggested ~~to~~ his advisers ~~to~~ depart from it; he would have ~~called~~ them back ~~to~~ it himself, ~~and~~ occasion required, and ever yielded ~~to~~ the observation, "it is the law," no matter how disagreeable or embarrassing he may have found the conclusion. In this particular ~~the~~ government ~~was~~ exposed to ~~many~~ trials, which he encountered with unswerving courage.

The policy of resistance did ~~more~~ than punctiliously respect the legal system. It ~~never~~ demanded from it all the ~~arms~~ it might have bestowed. I am not ~~now~~ speaking of those revolutionary times when, under the empire of a single assembly, the name of the law has served as a passport and veil to tyranny. Even under the constitutional system, and ~~in~~ a period of liberty, ~~the~~ power of the law has often exercised itself beyond the limits of ~~the~~ and habitual right. In England, ~~in~~ various epochs, in France before 1830, the Chambers have often passed exceptional ~~and~~ preventive laws violently opposed, and granted only for a short time, but which invested ~~the~~ government with extraordinary powers, and elevated its strength ~~to~~ ~~the~~ level of danger.

Under the monarchy of 1830, the policy of resistance never demanded or received such powers; assuredly, there was no want of enemies and dangers, but of prevention or exception was not desired. That policy resisted and governed by general, permanent, and repressive enactments; in the midst of the greatest perils, it appealed to nothing beyond the ordinary laws.

That policy, nevertheless, found itself in a singular situation, and perhaps unexampled in history. Nearly all the states of Europe, the free countries, such as England and Holland, have an old penal legislation, instituted in rude ages, and which, though softened or partly abandoned, still leaves at the disposition of authority very energetic means of police and repression. Whoever has closely observed the practice of criminal administration in England,—above all, the action of the judges and municipal authorities,—can entertain no doubt of the repressive efficacy of the prescriptions and traditions of these ancient laws. Nothing similar exists in France since 1789; the old penal code has been entirely abolished. Its place was supplied, at first by revolutionary violence, and afterwards by arbitrary power. Although reconstructed in a spirit of order, and sometimes of severity, if the penal legislation of the Empire had been enacted in the presence of liberty, and for the service of an authority constrained to restrict itself closely within legal practice, it would assuredly have been found imperfect and insufficient; but it was exposed to such trial, and found in an unfettered arbitrator of power the means

of filling up the [] in the law. The constitutional monarchy, from 1814 to 1830, [] the [] government which had really [] bear the weight of these deficiencies; it sought a remedy in [] acts, and [] frequently by recurring [] preventive and temporary measures, previously discussed in the Chambers, and applied by responsible counsellors. The monarchy of [] [] neither [] its disposal revolutionary tyranny nor imperial despotism, and rejected exceptional laws. It found itself, therefore, after [] animated impulse of [] [] steps, and when its enemies commenced an impassioned attack, [] exposed and disarmed than any of its antecedents had ever been.

This is not all. While the newly-created power had to combat for the safety of order, and to establish itself while struggling, [] [] called on [] the same time for the rapid development of public liberty, and to place in the hands of whoever chose to attack it [] weapons, while the old arms were withheld from its [] defence. The elective principle penetrated everywhere, in the administration [] in the government, in the bosom of the armed force as in civil order, [] the [] extremities as [] the centre of the state. The liberty of the press, the jury, all independent and deliberative institutions extended their domain, and government [] the [] of opposition and aggression increase from day [] day, [] the precise moment when its own resources for defence and action [] [] decline.

Amongst [] "Historic Documents" appended [] these "Memoirs," [] include [] comparative table of the [] passed from 1830 [] 1837; [] [] [] for

resistance ■ disorder ■ the defence of power, the other for the extension and guarantee of liberty.¹ This simple parallel will explain more fully than words, the ■ character of the policy of resistance during that period ; ■ policy essentially moderate and liberal, which innovated much ■ it opposed, and while opposing remained far on ■ side of the necessity, instead of surpassing it. It is too often the ■ and misfortune of our country not ■ confine itself to an ■ appreciation of facts, ■ become intoxicated with words and appearances, and ■ yield ■ the tide ■ carries it away, even though that tide should bear ■ in ■ direction contrary ■ its desires. France, in 1830, neither believed ■ had done, nor wished ■ do ■ than defend her honour and rights ; but France, since 1789, had remained deeply imbued with the revolutionary spirit, sometimes compressed and transformed, but never extirpated nor truly subdued. At certain ■ France considers herself cured of this frenzy ; she condemns ■ forgets it, but the ■ influ- ■ remains. Subordinate factions, dreaming coteries, and secret societies ■ present and ready ■ revive its empire. As ■ some great event indicates light, the demon issues from the retreats where it lived ■ coaled, but ever active ; it advances under different names,—to-day, the republic, to-morrow, socialism, then communism, and finally and avowedly anarchy, ■ and concluding standard. As long as France can delude herself and perceives not this sinister flag, she refuses ■ anticipate it ; and in opposition to her dearest

¹ See Historic Documents, No. XI.

and noblest interests, in the face of her real and general desire, she takes pleasure in the movement which opens indefinite perspectives to her imagination, and in her memory half-extinguished flames.

It was upon this that our country was launched by the revolution of 1830, and from which the policy of resistance, without measuring or estimating the depth of the abyss, undertook to restrain her. Far from wishing to reduce the liberty, progress, or amelioration of the people, or to diminish anything that adorns and honours human society, that policy defended these agencies, as well as general order, against their common enemy, the spirit of revolution,—a mortal, flattering, and lying foe.

We were all, in the cabinet, equally resolved to practise, in the double character of resistance and liberty, this line of policy; the only condition, as we believed, of honour and safety for the country and the government committed to our care. We mutually, without embarrassment, accepted the different shades of attitude and language, existing amongst us. Perfect unity would, assuredly, have been more desirable; but we argued great susceptibilities of mind to carry into public life the exigencies and susceptibilities of the domestic hearth, and to know how to accommodate ourselves to the diversity of opinion, or even discords, which need not prevent effective action in the end. We had no greater difficulty with the King than with ourselves. On the essential points he agreed with the cabinet, and treated us with confidence, devoid of jealousy. No one exercised an exclusive position or

rude temperament of M. Casimir Périer; nevertheless, we all ~~will~~ ~~will~~ the effect and dignity of our share in the government, being assured that when we had well considered ~~an~~ advice or a resolution amongst ourselves, the King would accede ~~to~~ it, excepting only some one of those ~~extraordinary~~ occasions ~~on~~ which royalty and ~~the~~ ministers, in disagreement ~~on~~ a leading question, have equally a right and reason ~~to~~ separate. ~~There~~ no such ~~thing~~ ~~was~~ then in perspective, even in ~~the~~ horizon.

It was in ~~the~~ Chambers that ~~our~~ doubt and difficulty ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ apprehended. ~~There~~ ~~we~~ ~~had~~ there all the support we required ~~to~~ render ~~our~~ policy effective, and give it, with Europe as ~~with~~ France, the appearance of ~~an~~ ~~unaltered~~ future? I regret ~~to~~ be compelled to ~~use~~ words which historical reminiscences or prejudices have rendered suspicious to men of worth and sense, but I know ~~how~~ ~~to~~ avoid them. To enable government under ~~the~~ representative system ~~to~~ acquire the regularity, force, dignity, ~~and~~ consistent spirit which belong to ~~the~~ most essential conditions, ~~it~~ is necessary ~~that~~ ~~the~~ great interests and principles, in presence and in contest, should be represented and sustained by ~~those~~ who have identified them ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ and habit of their lives; ~~we~~ rather, ~~we~~ call things by their right ~~names~~ ~~we~~ want parties,—great, avowed, disciplined, and faithful parties,—who, whether in power or in opposition, should ~~call~~ themselves ~~by~~ ~~the~~ the principles and interests they have adopted as their faith and ~~their~~ flag.

This is not, as it has been often called, a philosophical fancy, or an impression borrowed from the example of

England; it is a lesson taught by the history of all free countries, and the advice of sound political men. One of our independent and intellectual deputies of our time, M. Dugas-Montbel, the translator of Homer, was asked how it happened that he always voted with the government. "You are then always of the opinion of ministers?" he observed to him. "No," replied he, "I do always do what I wish; but I invariably do what I have wished." I do not know a better definition, or a sounder justification of political parties under a representative system; they are a principle of order and stability, carried into the most disturbed and changeable regions of government.

We had no such parties amongst us in 1832; we could neither gather them from our historical traditions nor from the organization of our society. We were at the first step of the representative system, and had to establish it in the bosom of a democratic association. We were fully aware of these facts, and had no pretence for introducing into our assemblies, with all their requirements and habits, the organization of the old aristocratic parties. But we were in presence of two very opposite opinions as to the character the new government should adopt, and the line of conduct it should hold. The policy of resistance and the policy of concession, each, from the first day, their adherents and adversaries. There was an active, national, and democratic fact, which would naturally give rise, among the English tories and whigs, but in our parties of government and opposition, both extremely French, and exclusively modern, but very different in principles

and tendencies, whether in the exercise of, or in the presence of power. Such were the parties, which for the public permanent interest, rather than for our popularity of a day, we anxiously sought to maintain and consolidate.

At the very moment when the cabinet was formed, we adopted, in the Chamber of Peers, some of those measures which weigh heavily upon where they are necessary. Since the double mutilation which it underwent, first by the Revolution of 1830, and afterwards by the abolition of hereditary rights, that Chamber had become languishing, and was very depopulated. It no longer presented, even at the Restoration, an assembly of the most considerable and tried adherents of established power. We endeavoured to re-invest it with that character and authority. A creation of sixty peers introduced into that house magistrates, general officers, members of the Institute, influential proprietors in their departments, great industrial leaders, old members of the Chamber of Deputies, and some important civil functionaries. All were men whose names recalled high social positions, or long services rendered to the state. A simple inspection of their names would prove that we had not sought, in selecting them, complaisant partisans, but honourable, solid, and useful supporters of the system we were about to found. There remained, certainly, the objection of these numerous sudden promotions, thrown by the Crown into one of the great arteries of the state; but this was an inevitable condition of the complete work of creation which we were called.

Our difficulty with the Chamber of Deputies was entirely of another character. We had to maintain and preserve there, for the policy of resistance, a majority, which under the ministry of M. Casimir P rier, and after the insurrection of the 5th and 6th of June, various peril had called together; but the elements were divided and badly united. At the opening of the session of 1832, the breeze of danger was still blowing; the various opinions were concealed; the third party had not yet unfurled their flag; but it was there, already visible, and planting, within the ranks of the majority, the seeds of discontent and disunion. In my opinion, we were, alternately, towards this third party, unjust and forbearing. It was a little camp, very mixed in itself; composed of honest irresolute and timid intriguers; of judicious but hesitating minds, disposed to find wisdom in fluctuation; of vain and pretentious spirits, without boldness or power, but exacting and officious; of well-meaning but weak hearts; of susceptible and jealous self-lovers. Confined to a small number of persons, this dissolving leaven fermented in the bosom of the majority and disturbed their cohesion. The third party assumed to itself for representative and leader, one of the most important members of the Chamber, M. Dupin; in this they committed a mistake, for M. Dupin neither lent nor offered himself to any one, more to those who agreed with than to others who differed from him; but without belonging to the third party, M. Dupin had with it some strong analogies, both in the good and evil elements; he even served to please them on occasions, although they

would have egregiously deceived themselves had they uniformly reckoned upon him.

We did not hesitate; we adopted M. Dupin as ~~our~~ candidate for the presidency of the Chamber, and bestowed on his friends, acknowledged or presumed, a considerable share in the honours of the bureau. In proportion as we were determined to carry on firmly the policy of resistance, we were equally desirous to ~~maintain~~ the majority by which it had hitherto been sustained. We ~~must~~ remain blind to the divisions we do not ~~wish~~ to aggravate.

Our prudence on this point was speedily brought to trial. In the debate on the budget of 1833, a member of the opposition proposed, by way of amendment, "The general revision of all pensions granted between the 1st of April, 1814, and the 1st of July, 1830, and the erasure of all such as had been awarded for services not performed in the national armies, for particular services to the princes of the elder branch of the Bourbons; finally, of those whose recipients did not combine all the conditions required by the existing laws." This amounted to a formal violation of Article 101 of the Charter, which expressed that, "The military in active employment, the officers and soldiers on half-pay, the widows, and the pensioned ~~officers and~~ soldiers, will preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions." It was, moreover, the financial resurrection, so to speak, of the civil war, of the enmities, revenges, and ~~antipathies~~ amongst the citizens. Fundamental law and policy equally rejected the amendment. The cabinet opposed it with its usual power. Two ~~more~~

of the Chamber, invested with public functions and habitually in the opposition, M. Dubois of Nantes, inspector-general of the University, and M. Baudé, counsellor of state, seconded it warmly. After an animated discussion, the amendment was rejected; and the President declared the vote, some members of the majority, elated at their victory, rose, while crying, "*Long live the Charter!*" At this shout, M. Dubois retorted with the exclamation, "*Long live the traitors! Long live the Chouans!*" which was immediately taken up by the opposition benches. The sitting terminated in the midst of an impassioned tumult.

The council met in the evening. The majority was now as much irritated as they had been firm. They called loudly on the government to support their supporters, and separate from their assailants. Resistance to the spirit of revolutionary reaction, already so difficult, they said, would become impossible if this spirit was tolerated in our own ranks. The dismissal of Messrs. Hérault and Dubois was deliberated in the council. I had doubts as to the propriety of this measure. M. Dubois and M. Baudé were little consistent in their ideas, and independent in character from fiery susceptibility, but strangers to all intrigue or intended compromise, neither pledged to the opposition nor to the third party, and who had spoken and voted on this occasion without political judgment, but with no premeditated hostile design against the general policy of the cabinet. They were both, during the Restoration and the days of July, men of devotedness and courage which called for esteem. The revocation of M. Dubois,

as inspector-general of studies, would open, moreover, a delicate question as to the point at which his rights as a member of the University followed him in his political capacity? Could he be without the forms prescribed by the constitutive decrees of the University? I submitted for consideration to the council; but there had been both scandal and clamour. The council persisted in thinking that certain measures were necessary. It remained for me to pronounce on which I was likely to encounter the most animated objections. I declared myself ready to do the will of my colleagues, and to accept the responsibility. On returning home I wrote as follows to M. Dubois: "I do not wish, sir, that you should learn from the *Moniteur* that you have ceased to exercise the functions of Inspector-general of Public Instruction. It is with real regret that I feel compelled to inform you. I have undoubtedly no occasion to tell you the motives by which I was governed. You set much value, and with justice, on your personal dignity; you will understand, without difficulty, that the government has a similar feeling, and will take pains to maintain it."

On the following day, as it was easy to foresee, I was violently attacked in the Chamber; with more violence than ability. Instead of confining the case to equity and propriety, confused general questions and absolute pretensions were raised. A principle was laid down, that any deputy holding office, had a right to vote according to his opinion, and at the same time to preserve his post, without troubling himself to inquire whether his conscience and his

position ~~was~~ in accord; ~~and~~ without authorizing the government which he served and opposed ~~at~~ the same time, to refuse ~~his~~ services in order to put an end to the internal disorder of his attacks. In this, they said, consisted essentially the independence of the deputy in office; ~~and~~ ~~he~~ no longer permitted to attack, ~~as~~ deputy, without risk or sacrifice, the power he served as a functionary, that independence would ~~not~~ exist. ~~My~~ reasoning rendered my defence easier ~~than~~ it ought ~~to~~ have been, for ~~it~~ destroyed ~~once~~ the harmony of government, ~~the~~ responsibility of ministers, and ~~the~~ political probity of functionaries. I claimed these necessary principles of ~~all~~ regular and free legislation; I ~~maintained~~ that in public instruction, ~~the~~ rights of ~~the~~ administrative functions ~~could~~ ~~not~~ be ~~the~~ same as those of the instructing duties; I distinguished general and habitual opposition from special and accidental discord; and upon the ground taken up by the adversaries of the cabinet, I reduced the ~~subject~~ to a question of good ~~will~~ and loyalty, ~~to~~ a simple proposition ~~as~~ to whether one could ~~be~~ ~~at~~ the ~~same~~ time in the garrison of the fortress ~~and~~ in the army of the besiegers. Success ~~was~~ almost certain; I had with me constitutional maxims, ~~the~~ practical necessities of government, and the passions as well ~~as~~ the conviction of the majority. So far from compromising the cabinet, ~~the~~ incident, in which I still ~~felt~~ we somewhat exceeded the measure of political interest and individual equity, sensibly strengthened us by giving ~~confidence~~ ~~to~~ confidence ~~in~~ ~~our~~ adherents.

In June, 1833, when ~~the~~ two ~~months~~ of 1832 and

1833, which followed each other with only twenty-four hours' interval, had reached their term, the position of the cabinet was good; it had succeeded beyond its own expectation and that of its friends. To the first success which marked its entry into office, the fall of the insurrection in the departments of the west, and the taking of Antwerp, were added important legislative triumphs. M. Humann, by preparing, presenting, and debating without intermission the two budgets of 1833 and 1834, had put an end to the necessity of provisional measures for the public expenses, a grievance incessantly complained of by men of order in financial matters. He had, moreover, regulated and secured this basis of public credit by a strong law upon the sinking fund. Marshal Bugeaud and Admiral Rigny had introduced measures affecting the condition of the army in the military and naval services, which, without compromising the authority of the King over the army, afforded solid guarantees to private rights. On the proposition of Admiral Rigny, the exercise of civil and political privileges, with the legislative system in the colonies, had been liberally arranged; and while assigning to the colonists their due proportion of influence, these laws prognosticated the abolition of slavery. M. d'Argout had proposed, with reference to the organization and management of departmental and municipal councils, and to expropriation in cases of public utility, several laws which honestly acknowledged the control of the elective principle and that of the juries with the action of the central power, and gave securities to private interests. A comprehensive bill on the responsibility of minis-

and agents of power had been proposed by M. Barthe. M. Thiers had demanded, obtained, and immediately commenced a chain of public works. I myself founded elementary education by introducing into it the principle of liberty. Of these fifteen legislative propositions, four out of which promises of Article 68 of the Charter, nine had been voted and become legal enactments; the rest ready for the ensuing session. Many other legislative labours and royal decrees provided for the current business of the country. The activity of the cabinet in its relations with the Chambers had been energetic and productive. It had honourably sustained conflict with its adversaries, and systematically secured the adherence of a majority. No important external disorder had troubled the public peace or interfered with the march of government.

Some bold spirits,—and amongst them a few private friends of my own,—pressed the cabinet to take advantage of this favourable state of affairs to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, and thus to consecrate its authority by a new parliament born under its influence, and promising a perspective of five years' duration. "Throughout my journey," M. de Rémusat wrote to me from Toulouse, "I have found the dissolution almost accepted and perfectly understood. In all quarters, I am convinced it would succeed. The general opinion of things is quite as favourable as we believe it to be in Paris. I am quite satisfied with the intelligence of the country. They are more clearly sensible than I expected. They are really enjoying tranquillity and reviving prosperity. For

the moment, I answer for it, no pains need be taken to satisfy the imaginations and captivate their minds. Repose is a novelty which suffices and will satisfy until the session."

The cabinet less confidence, rejected this advice. After mature deliberation, it said in the *Moniteur*, "For some time the question of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies has been argued. Many persons have thought that such was the intention of government; but reports are void of all foundation. The government has no motive for abridging the legal duration of a Chamber which has lent itself a loyal and energetic operation to the monarchy and the charter of 1830."

I have often been reproached for occupying myself too exclusively with the parliamentary arrangements of what has been called the legal country, and of treating lightly the national condition and dispositions of the country at large. I shall say elsewhere what I think of this reproach, and of the error which led me into the imputed error,—if, in fact, I so committed myself. It may be, we were far from such a mistake in 1833, and our solicitude in regard to the general state of the country was one of the principal motives which induced us to abandon the idea of a dissolution. The majority assembled round us in the Chambers, the tranquillity re-established in the streets, deceived by the persevering obstinacy of the hostile parties, and the enduring perils they were preparing for us. After their flight in the West and in France in 1832, the republicans and legitimists had, for a time at least, re-

insurrection, and gave them the army in combat, and united against them the scattered fractions of the great party scattered in the new system. But they found other arms, some more concealed, others more legitimate in appearance. By means of secret societies and the periodical press, they were able to mine the edifice, and maintain under its foundations a destructive furnace, while waiting a propitious day to kindle the fire. It was to these two modes of attack that they had recourse in 1833, and they worked them with an audacity and perseverance which, in the midst of our parliamentary government, allowed them neither confidence nor repose.

Amongst the many secret societies created and renewed since 1830, the leading one, that of the *Friends of the People*, had been dissolved in 1832 by a decree of the Court of Assize in Paris, but in a manner little discouraging, for the jury, while acknowledging its existence, declared the members not guilty, and the government at the same time interdicted their meetings and pronounced their acquittal. Its chiefs hastened to revive it under the already well-known name of the *Society of the Rights of Man*. They organized it into sections, each consisting of twenty members, and governed by a committee of eleven directors. The number of members soon amounted, in Paris, to 162. The central committee issued under its orders about 3,000 men,—a column of insurrection ready to move, when the day of action should arrive. A multitude of other associations, the *Society of the Propaganda*; the *Society of the Rights of the People*; the *Patriotic and Popular*

Society; the *Union*, &c.; were in relationship with the *Society of the Rights of Man*, the central committee of which we will say, in what I called an *order of the day*, faithful associates, "The committee announces to you that the *Society of the Rights of Man* may from this moment consider itself as a parent association of more than 300 others which rally, on all points of France, to the same principles and in the same direction." These principles were not equivocal, and the various societies could not, at least, be taxed with hypocrisy. They proclaimed their intention of overthrowing not only the monarchy of 1830, but all monarchies whatsoever, and to found the Republic on their ruins: not an abstract form of republic, organized after the Utopias of philosophy or the examples of the United States of America, but the Republic, one and indivisible, born in 1792, and already known to France. The central committee, not wishing to leave any doubt on this point, published an exposition of principles and the bases of the republican constitution it was preparing. "Inheritors of the mission which the genius of the National Convention had undertaken, desiring that society should be brought back to its true end, uniting at the same time to enfranchise and secure its progress, the Republicans are called upon, in the present instance, to point out the guides which, while improving, will prevent it from wandering. It is in this spirit that, from its origin, the *Society of the Rights of Man* adopted, as the expression of its principles, the declaration presented to the National Convention by the representative of the people, Robespierre. The

central committee unites [redacted] to that adoption." The central committee did not [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] principles of 1793; [redacted] adopted with [redacted] [redacted] fervour [redacted] practical reminiscences, the proper names, ensigns, and images of [redacted] epoch; the sections of the society in Paris glorified themselves in appropriating them; and four chose [redacted] [redacted] of *Saint-Just*; others [redacted] [redacted] *Marat*, *Babouf*, *Robespierre*, *Couthon*, the 21st of January, *War against the Castles*, *Abolition of ill-acquired Property*, &c., &c. In vain [redacted] these resurrections [redacted] some members or patrons of [redacted] societies; in vain [redacted] the members endeavour to [redacted] [redacted] such [redacted] into [redacted] past, and liberate the future republic from their contact. Their voices were lost in the tumult; their opposition was denounced [redacted] aristocratic pretension or Girondist dotage. It [redacted] sad to [redacted] an illustrious [redacted] magnanimous old man,—M. de La Fayette—and a young writer of lofty mind and character,—M. Armand Carrel,—embarrassed in disavowing timidly, and without [redacted] [redacted] the senseless [redacted] atrocious turpitudes which they should have trampled under foot with indignation [redacted] contempt.

Therein lay, if [redacted] the heaviest danger, [redacted] [redacted] the [redacted] aggravating circumstance of [redacted] perils against which [redacted] had [redacted] contend. However formidable might be the labours of the overthrowers of states through conspiracy and popular insurrection, if they [redacted] [redacted] no [redacted] in other [redacted] regions, and [redacted] [redacted] of public authorities, they would have scanty chances [redacted] [redacted]. There must [redacted] [redacted] from above to those that work below; aristocratic station must

come to the [redacted] of democratic passion; [redacted] wise [redacted] lend their [redacted] [redacted] the insane, while honest men cover evil designs with their fair reputation. This necessary support [redacted] [redacted] wanting [redacted] the inveterate republicans [redacted] anarchical conspirators who struggled to overthrow the monarchy of [redacted]. They [redacted] for permanent [redacted] the partisans of legitimacy; [redacted] amongst the old liberal chiefs, [redacted] of the most considerate, become [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] sovereignty which they accused of their [redacted] errors, lent their co-operation, [redacted] [redacted] avowed, [redacted] [redacted] determined enemies. Occasionally they [redacted] gaged, under the [redacted] of *Society for the Defence of the Liberty of the Press, For the Relief of the Condemned*, [redacted] [redacted] similar designation, in public associations, distinct by their legal object from the [redacted] societies; but which, in the end, by the fermentation they excited, and the relations they established with individuals, tended [redacted] the [redacted] result. At other times they protected, by their speeches and votes in the Chambers, the compromised conspirators. Other members of the opposition, strangers [redacted] all hostile practices, but thinking more of their popularity than of their parliamentary mission, conducted themselves [redacted] every opportunity with pusillanimous circumspection towards [redacted] [redacted] aggressive plotters. I once expressed [redacted] surprise [redacted] of these, [redacted] banker of eminence, whose opinions I knew [redacted] very monarchical: "What [redacted] you require?" [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] me; "you and your colleagues will [redacted] do me any harm; but these gentry will [redacted] day be the masters, [redacted] they have [redacted] who [redacted] very capable of seizing [redacted] property and cutting off my head: I [redacted]

no wish to embroil myself with them." Through all these [redacted] the conspirators from without, the active enemies of established order, [redacted] in the high [redacted] regions, and even in the bosom of [redacted] great powers of the state, supporters who [redacted] them confidence, and chances, which of themselves they could never have possessed.

They [redacted] allies in the journals [redacted] [redacted] ardent and effective. It is [redacted] a common-place axiom to regard the periodical press [redacted] the leading peril of governments, and I do [redacted] think there [redacted] much exaggeration in what has been said of the part it has taken more than once in their subversion. But I believe, at the [redacted] time, that great errors have been fallen into, and will again be repeated, on [redacted] conduct to [redacted] pursued in face of [redacted] power, and [redacted] the [redacted] of resisting [redacted] blows. I do not retract what I have already said; I persist in believing that if the liberty of [redacted] press comprises for free governments and nations [redacted] [redacted] of their trials, [redacted] is [redacted] the same time, in modern society, a trial which [redacted] [redacted] shunned, and there [redacted] one only way of living honourably with [redacted] a companion: namely, [redacted] acknowledge [redacted] frankly, and [redacted] [redacted] it with complaisance. To preserve [redacted] [redacted] position, just and highly necessary restrictive laws [redacted] insufficient: [redacted] conditions [redacted] yet wanting, too [redacted] forgotten [redacted] neglected, [redacted] they involve [redacted] question of conduct and character which no legislator has been competent [redacted] solve.

In the first place, it is [redacted] [redacted] power, and the friends of power, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] hesitate to use the liberty [redacted] the press; [redacted] use [redacted] habitually, ener-

getically; ■ sustain the contest ■■ champions in ■ arena, and not ■■ criminals in ■■ dock. A clever and ■■ journalist, ■■ Maclaren, ■ founder of ■■ of ■■ ■■ influential papers in his country, ■■ *Scotsmen*, visited France during my administration; he ■■ astonished that the Government, whose policy ■ approved and honoured, ■■ not in ■■ periodical press ■ greater number of voluntary advocates; ■■ ■■ ■■ parliamentary majority, which evidently represented great principles and great social interests, did ■■ itself ■■ for its own ■■ more multiplied and active organs. He had good ■■ ■■ be surprised, and touched one of the weak points of the conservative party in France; but he ■■ ignorant of ■■ causes which, to ■ certain extent, excused and explained it. In countries where, with more ■■ ■■ freedom, according to the times, the great political parties have for a long while contested the exercise of power, they have ■■ the necessity and adopted the practice of explaining and defending themselves before the public, amongst whom are the judges they fear and the ■■ they court. Hence arise those permanent and independent ■■ ■■ those assiduous interpreters and advocates, journals, reviews, miscellanies, and publications of every class, which the respective parties ■■ care ■■ institute and maintain. But France has ■■ been a country of ■■ political parties; ■■ ■■ the ■■ ■■ great principles and interests been grouped together, disciplined, and placed in mutual presence, to conquer supremacy in the government ■■ country. Royalty, sustained ■■ controlled, served

or shackled by the various social classes; and round that royalty and its eminent servants, a public without regular organization, without acknowledged rights or institutions; free, notwithstanding, in spirit and speech, concentrating all liberty in surveying, criticising, and complaining, like spectators in a theatre;—such, with the exception of a few passing circumstances, has been for ages the political system of France. The parties capable of pretending to power, and of co-operating openly in such a design, do not form themselves into this system. Thus, when constitutional monarchy was introduced into France, the friends of the new system found ready to play the part to which they called them, to understand its duties, to fulfil its conditions, or to accept its combats. Friends were not wanting to power, but they were friends a little practised in the movement, prepared in the discipline of politics; unaccustomed to act alone, or to sustain spontaneously with independence, and on their own account, the government which upheld their cause. Hence the isolation, the abandonment, and consequently the weakness, which they often found itself reduced. “I am approved,” said King Louis-Philippe, with a sentiment of regret, “but I am not defended.”

In this complaint there was something of unjust forgetfulness. The government of King Louis-Philippe, and the King himself, had not created, in the periodical press, skilful supporters. From 1848, the *Journal des Débats* pursued the policy of legal order and equal constancy with firmness, spirit and ability. For myself, I received this paper,

except in one instance, of which I shall speak in its place, ~~the~~ ~~most~~ ~~valuable~~ and valuable support. I have already named my early connection ~~with the~~ ~~most~~ leading proprietors, ~~the~~ ~~Monsieur~~ Bertin, and particularly with M. Bertin de Veaux. After their death, M. Armand Bertin, who succeeded to ~~the~~ principal editorship, and M. de Sacy, ~~his~~ faithful and indefatigable associate, seconded me throughout my whole ministry, ~~as~~ ~~our~~ ~~own~~ ~~and~~ our chosen friends. M. de Sacy ~~has~~ lately reprinted ~~his~~ ~~most~~ important ~~works~~ on philosophical, historical, and literary criticism, written during ~~his~~ long co-operation with the journal he directs ~~at~~ present. If, as I hope, he will also ~~publish~~ ~~his~~ leading political essays, it will be ~~that~~ that the steadiness of ~~his~~ monarchical and liberal faith have equalled the judicious inspiration of his talent. We have no right to call ourselves deserted when ~~we~~ have such defenders. But it is not the less true that, in the combat ~~I~~ sustained, the *Journal des Débats* stood too much alone, and ~~that~~ the conservative party knew ~~how~~ how to profit by the liberty of the press, or to employ in ~~the~~ ~~line~~ of action a ~~small~~ number of independent and resolute champions.

Another condition is not less essential to ~~the~~ power and the periodical press, under a free system, to live in ~~close~~ contact with each other, without disturbing ~~the~~ ~~state~~. Power must be ~~as~~ ~~bold~~ as ~~bold~~ as bold; and while ~~the~~ partizans maintain ~~the~~ struggle with vigour, it should bear blows with patience, and ~~not~~ be too eager either to stop or punish them. There should ~~be~~ ~~no~~ languor in the struggle before ~~the~~ public,

no eager anxiety to prosecute before the tribunals. The most illustrious and sensible of all the heads of free governments, Washington, has furnished examples on this point that were striking as he derived much individually from his own wisdom. No one was ever more outraged by the extravagance of the press, or more deeply wounded by its calumnies; no one more keenly felt the mischief or acknowledged the danger. "If discontent, suspicion, and irritation are thus scattered abroad with full hands," he wrote to the attorney-general, Randolph, "if the government and its officers are so incessantly exposed to the attacks of the newspapers, without any examination of their motives, I fear it will become impossible for any man under the sun to manage the helm or keep together the various parts of the machine." And later, with reference to the personal attacks of which he was the object, "I did not believe, I could not imagine, until these latter times, that it was, I will not say probable, but possible, while I gave myself up to these irksome efforts to pursue a rational policy,—a policy exclusively our own,—and to preserve this country from the horrors of war, all the members of my administration would be tortured and disfigured in a manner at once the most gross and insidious, and in terms so exaggerated and indecent, that they are scarcely applicable to Nero, to a notorious malefactor, or even to a common pickpocket. But I have said enough, I have already indulged too far in the expression of my feelings." Washington did not go further; he waited the justice

of opinion without appealing to the force of the laws. I admit that this contemptuous patience was easy in his position. His person and policy, it is true, were unworthily assailed, but there the assault ended. It was very different with me in 1844. The blows of the hostile press were directed against the very existence of the government, the fundamental basis of society itself; every possible motive called upon us to repress them vigorously; the actual danger, the evident violation of the laws, the indignant clamours of the friends of order, the horror produced in the public mind by these unbridled attacks, and the necessity of intimidating, in their turn, those who thus alarmed the community. Impelled by these strong reasons, we engaged in a series of press prosecutions, which were far from reaching all the persons calling for such interference, far from satisfying the urgent instances of our friends, but which perpetually brought back the same questions, the same offences, the same persons, and often the same accused. Here, I feel convinced, was an error, inevitable, perhaps, in the existing state of parties and minds, but one which aggravated the evils we were anxious to stifle. The greater part of these prosecutions ended in scandalous acquittals, which betrayed the weakness of the juries, sometimes of the judges, and redoubled the audacity of the assailants. Amongst the condemnations pronounced, some were deficient in equity, for they struck the legitimists more heavily than the republicans, a melancholy symptom of pusillanimous partiality, and a source of irritation to the party treated with such unequal rigour. The courts

of assize and the tribunals became the scene in which the conspirators had no fear of appearing, and in which they displayed more courage than they had shown in their writings. Rarity of prosecution in the midst of the multitude of these crimes would certainly have had bad effects; it would have excited against the authorities the reproaches and complaints of their friends; but, well explained, either in the tribune or in the disputes of the journals themselves, it represented as an act of forbearance, not arising from terror or carelessness, but of mature and political foresight, it would have been ultimately understood; and, in all events, the corresponding inconveniences would have been better than the continued display of the violence and insolence of faction, contrasted with the weakness of justice, and of the pretexts continually furnished for spiteful or calumnious declamations, without any serious effort of repression or intimidation.

In these trials, I wish only to recall one man remarkable of all, and the one provoked by facts, as also the one in which the error I have pointed out signally manifested itself. For a long time, the Chamber of Deputies, body of members, had been unworthily outraged, calumniated, and brought down by the republican journals, and particularly by the *Tribune*, that the most audacious and cynical of the whole. A man of mind and courage,—who possessed the rare merit of a happy endowment of the impulses of self-love, of ebullitions of language, of ingenuous passion, of free epigrams, have shown his conduct or affected the esteem and regard of his numerous

friends,—M. Viennet, proposed ■■■ Chamber ■ summon the journalist ■ their bar, and ■ restrain such ■■■■. After long debates, and notwithstanding the declared abstention of the greater part of the members of ■■■ opposition, the Chamber adopted ■■■ proposal; the responsible manager of the *Tribune* ■■■ ordered to appear, and ■■■ principal editors—M. Godfrey Cavaignac ■■■ M. Armand Marrast,—were admitted to ■■■■ him. They both acquitted themselves ■ men of spirit and ability; the one, with the bitter, menacing pride of a fanatical heir of the Convention ■■■ ■■ Jacobins; the other, with the inexhaustible gall of ■■ anxious and vain man of letters, irritated ■ being in a position below his aspirations, and who revenges himself by pouring forth his pretensions ■■■ antipathies under the veil of ■■■ ideas. We saw pompously exhibited before us, the principles and plans of the party called upon the scene; the tyranny of the multitude appeared under the name of the sovereignty of the people; the electoral lie ■■■ decorated with the title of universal suffrage; the crushing unity of the central power was enthroned as ■■■ symbol of national concord. We listened ■ the glorification of the pretended abolishment of all inequality of condition, of progressive ■■■■ tion, and of legislative interference ■ secure and accelerate ■■■ unlimited division of property; of all ■■■ ideas, sentiments, anti-social and anti-liberal ■■■■ which already, amongst us, have ruined and dishonoured even ■■■ very ■■■■ of a republic, ■■■ which, while waiting the day of errors, excite against established order so many passions and hopes, the one essen-

tially evil and illegitimate, and chi-
merical.

The Chamber looked on with mournful dignity at the representation of chaos, a prelude to political confusion it would scarcely be pardoned as repulsing. The president, M. Dupin, superintended the scene appropriately, without severity or weakness, by maintaining the respect due to the Chamber and the laws, while at the same time he respected the right of free defence for the accused. The *speech* of *M. Tribune* was condemned; but Messrs. Cavaignac and *M. ...* retired, haughty and contented, as well for their party as for themselves, with the satisfaction they had given to their adherents, and the fears they had impressed on their enemies. Great public authorities ought not to exhibit themselves thus silently in conflict with the professed doctors of revolt and anarchy; it is in the name of liberty, and with arms in hand, that they ought to engage in similar combats.

While we occasionally embarked in these inopportune and ineffective struggles against the spirit of revolution, we also yielded injurious concessions to it by our silence or non-interference. Discord recommenced between the Chambers on the abrogation of the law relative to mourning on the 21st of January. We allowed the feeling to proceed and augment, without assuming ourselves, from the opening of the question, any decided attitude, in conformity with the language held by the Duke de Broglie, in 1832, when the Chamber of Peers, at that time deliberated on the proposition. M. Bavoux, in the Chamber of Deputies, repeated his

demand for the re-establishment of divorce. We took no part in the debate on the question of social morality and civil rights, and it proceeded to extinguish itself in the Chamber of Peers without the expression of any opinion on the part of the cabinet. We preserved silence on another leading question of civil and political order, the abolition of entailed estates, which so closely touches the rights of individual property and the constitution of families. We were ourselves compelled to present the bill, introduced by petition in 1831, for giving pensions to the survivors amongst the captors of the Bastille; and while connecting ourselves with it, we refrained from expressing on this subject the reserves which every government owes to itself, when a popular insurrection is treated of, accompanied by murders and deplorable excesses. Our abstention on these several occasions was perhaps necessary; we had, while carrying out the policy of order and resistance, so many other matters to maintain, so many serious questions to decide ourselves, that we were most naturally inclined to keep aloof from those not absolutely imposed upon us, on which, without our interruption, were likely to have a favourable issue. But under a free system, it is unbecoming in power, and gives it a helpless appearance, to remain inert in the midst of the great debates prevailing round it, and to suffer them to be agitated between friends and adversaries, without assuming its own suitable part, and exercising its legitimate influence. If its forbearance is always shown, it is invariably weak.

Despite these troubles and embarrassments, we were

justified, when opening the session of 1834, in believing the country and the government in a favourable condition; a great physical disorder had sprung up and carried alarm to private interests. "The travellers who return from France," M. de Barante wrote me from Turin, "tell wonders of our prosperity, of our tranquil state, of our incredible liberty, and of the judicious patience of King Louis-Philippe." The numerous and important laws passed during the preceding years were in regular exercise; public works were in active progress; elementary schools multiplied rapidly; the election placed quietly, throughout France, by the side of active administration, new councils of departments and divisions, enlightened patrons of local interests, who brought to the government and to policy the support of their independent adhesion. Political order developed in the bosom of order, not well secured, at least maintained for the present, and whatever vestiges of alarm remained excited instead of chilling resolution. "The situation is improved," M. Rémusat wrote me from Toulouse, "and precisely because it is so serene. You know that I mistrust nothing so much as exaggerated security which would lead to the explosion of every drop of cloud, pretension, vanity. We always require a certain degree of danger to make us reasonable. For the same reason, I think little of these combinations of work-people. Notwithstanding many appearances, I do not yet look upon them as formidable. No one believes more stedfastly than I do that there is no serious social malady, superior perhaps

to all human remedies; but it may still be palliated for a long time. These symptoms are premature symptoms; they can only rally the middle classes, and put them on their guard. Here they occupy themselves greatly with the course of events; people who, until now, have remained undisturbed, begin to be anxious, and to see what has stared you and I in the face for the last three years."

M. DE KERSANTZ caused for thinking that we required a little danger to make us reasonable. There was much in the position of affairs; enough, however,—that is to say, not enough of a pressing or visible form,—to maintain in unity the different elements of the party of order under the new monarchy. From the sessions of the Chamber of Deputies, in the formation of the bureau, in the composition and debate of the address in reply to the speech from the throne, the diversity of these elements, not their discord, hastened to display itself. There was some difficulty in coming to an understanding on the choice of vice-presidents and secretaries to the Chamber, and the third party assumed a greater part in this question than its real strength seemed to warrant. The outline of the address, the sketch which almost universally decides the colouring of the picture, was intrusted to M. Etienne, a writer born of the third party, a soft and dim mind with an apparent clearness, but an attraction of bad alloy; shrewd, without distinctness; skilful in veiling hints without speaking out, and in inflicting injury without striking a blow.

The address, full of general declarations in favour of
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order, and against all factions, was otherwise almost silent. The policy in vigour, interspersed with indirect counsels and hopes, all bearing upon the future, as if it was not to be regarded as a sequel to the present. Thus, in the debate, the address was read and accepted by the principal members of the opposition, anxious to mark the symptoms and develop the real division in the heart of the majority. The cabinet was not to be influenced into this course. Without caring for the address or looking for its hidden tendencies, we maintained firmly, against ardent though obsolete attacks, the policy we had exercised and intended to pursue. I persisted, as I had done under the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, in characterising it by its true name, resistance to anarchy; and in its monarchical principle the necessity of the country with a prince of the royal house, a stranger to the faults and the maxims of the present branch, and the only possible King in the event which these faults had brought on. It was during this debate that the distinction (so often drawn in former times) was re-introduced between my definition of the call to the throne of the Duke of Orleans in 1830, that he was a Bourbon, and that of M. Dupin, although he was a Bourbon; a dis-accordance puerile in appearance, for these assertions were true. If the Duke of Orleans had been a prince and a Bourbon, no one would have thought of him; and if he had been any other Bourbon, a Bourbon engaged in the cause of the present system, the Prince de Condé, for instance, no one would have accepted him. Notwithstanding the vanity of its apparent motive, the distinction was serious, and

exemplified very opposite policies. Where I saw a necessary King, the Charter maintained, modified, M. Dupin beheld "an elected Chamber, a charter created by you," he said in the Chamber, "and imposed by the nation on royalty." I demanded the advantage of the establishment of 1830, monarchical traditions; M. Dupin saw the revolution as its only cradle.

If I pause for a moment on these quarrels, removed from us, it is that they explain events, they contributed to produce them. The first maxims which establish themselves in the human mind have more power over us than we are aware of, and there are controlling influences of logic and of passion from which we cannot escape. I shall explain my thought without reserve. On this subject there was in the mind of M. Dupin more of confusion and of incoherence than of clear system and decided opinion. He was not, and he has never been a revolutionist, either in principles or conduct; and when that party was violently in the ascendant, he has been more than resolutely opposed it. But he neither attacked the evil in its source, nor in its remote progress. Through want of foresight or prudence, others, with less spirit and talent, preserved towards the forerunners, voluntary or involuntary, of revolutionary attempts the same circumspection, and blamed them by pointing out loudly, long before, the dangers they incurred themselves they could charm away by speaking of them. I often fancied that my ears re-echoed the words of Nicomedes: "I beseech you not to

embroil me with the republic." And I had nothing satisfactory to reply; for looking upon the republic in our days, and with us, as the mendacious passport of anarchy, it was precisely with it that I was bent on embroiling my epoch and my country.

Once more the revolutionary spirit turned upon itself to prove that those were deceived, who expected any accommodation with it. While the merits or demerits of the policy of resistance were being debated in the Chambers, the anarchical party (let me me always call it republican, though it constantly gave itself that name), employed to oppose it and to foment revolt, the most audacious means. A multitude of public criers paraded the streets, selling and distributing to all passers by, all sorts of pamphlets and small tracts, the inventions of the day, or reprints of the most pernicious times: the "Republican Catechism;" the "Catechism of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen;" "Select Works of Maximilian Robespierre;" "Opinion of Couthon, member of the National Convention, on the Sentence of Louis XVI.;" the "Republican Calendar," with the portrait of Robespierre in a sun, and dated in the year of the republic, which had reclaimed its legitimacy; the "Pillory, as the Town with the Town Sergeants," &c. &c. The nature of these writings accorded with their titles; they were alternately direct incentives to insurrection, diatribes against kings, nobles, rich persons, all the authorities, and all elected distinctions, with the grossest insults and calumnies against the depositaries of power, from the highest to the most insignificant. The

administration endeavoured to put a stop to this rampant disorder; several criers were seized and sent before the tribunals. The tribunals, the royal court, as also the judges of the inferior civil courts, all declared according to the spirit of existing legislation, if the criers made the preliminary declaration required by the law of the 10th of December, 1830, it was a free vocation to which no obstacle could be offered; and the matter could only be dealt with by prosecutions for offences of the press, as in regard to all other kind of published works, and every other mode of sale or distribution. Armed with this opinion, the manager of a popular journal, the "Good Sense," M. Rodde, repaired in a blouse and cap, the ordinary costume of the criers, to the square of the Exchange, and began distributing a packet of printed papers: "I will resist," he declared beforehand, "every attempt at violence or arbitrary seizure; I will repel violence by violence; I call to my fellow all citizens who still believe in the efficacy of the law. Let the authorities take care of the tumult, any ensues, will not arise from my act; I am on legal ground, and I have a right to appeal to the courage of the French people. I have a right to call on insurrection: in this case, it will be, now or never, the fulfilment of duties?" The answer was easy: the government had announced that all prosecution of the criers would cease until the point of jurisprudence was definitively settled, either by the Court of Appeal, or by the law. The crowd, which on the 10th of December surrounded and applauded the journalist crier, soon dispersed. The mischief was flagrant, the scandal at its height, the

impotence of the law admitted. More than six million copies of inflammatory publications were distributed within the space of three months. The cabinet presented to the Chamber of Deputies a new law, which subjected the crier, vendor, distributor of writings in public thoroughfares to the authority and superintendence of the municipal authority. The law was animated; the minister of the Interior, M. d'Argout, read in the tribune several passages from distributed pamphlets; the Chamber was agitated with indignation and disgust. "Enough!" exclaimed M. Dubois of Nantes, from his place, "it is infamous!" Defenders, however, were not wanting for the criers; the moderate demanded freedom for industry, the more insolent accused the police themselves of printing and distributing the most offensive pamphlets. The Chamber, by a large majority, adopted the proposed law; there were, notwithstanding, 133 voices for rejection. I am disposed to believe that, amongst this number, several would have voted for it had they believed the result to be doubtful. Many persons willingly dispense with courage, when others are ready to assume it for them.

It was no longer possible to be deceived. The position was what it had been under M. Casimir Périer. The struggle recommenced in the streets; the revolutionary party were disposed once more to appeal to physical force. Intimidated rather than discouraged by repeated defeats, their hopes were as stubborn as their passions. The mind intoxicates itself like the body; ideas, which having once taken

possession of the understanding, blind the sight, drain the blood, distend the muscles, and impel towards the object they aspire to. They promise themselves, whatever may be the dangers they encounter, the crimes they commit, or the sacrifices they make, the accomplishment. In the name of the sovereignty of the people, the revolutionists believed themselves possessed of right and numbers. Moral and practical blindness being thus blinded, they had equal faith in their cause and in success. Overthrow by armed force was their motto and incessant effort. They prepared themselves for this issue in 1833 with a singular mixture of public audacity and concealed plots. Through the discipline of various secret societies under the central committee of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, they established everywhere, secret bands, correspondents, agents lost in the crowd, and eager to recruit allies from thence. In the manufacturing towns, in all the great centres of population and industry, they established communications with the brotherhoods and societies of mutual aid of the working classes; fomented amongst them the discontents and combinations ever produced by stagnation of trade and questions of wages, and drew them, often against their instinct and inclination, into the camp of the republic, sometimes by pretending the near approach, sometimes by promising in its name the satisfaction and prosperity which, in common with every other system, it was unable to bring them. In the month of 1833, on the anniversary days of the Revolution of July, the party anticipated in Paris a favourable opportunity,

had prepared an insurrection. It miscarried, through the measures of the authorities, and in some measure from the internal discords of the party itself. In its ranks were certain men, who were decidedly republicans than their fiery friends, but who were devoid of foresight and scruple, who discountenanced unlicensed violence, who appeals to physical force, and tried at least to delay the explosion. But such impediments were promptly set aside. If we are not disposed to be carried away by the ties of party, we should break them frankly, when the attempt to use their influence fails to restrain our associates. M. La Fayette and M. Armand Carrel neglected this resolution, but M. Godfrey Cavaignac and M. Armand Marrast, more powerful than they, continued to take advantage of their weakness whilst despising their advice. They showed no more hesitation in compromising their soldiers than their friends. No sooner did they receive from their associates in the departments, adhesions and promises of fidelity under all events, than the *Tribune* published them with a grand flourish of eulogium and expectation. The party then vibrated between underhand subtlety and brazen audacity, displaying, by turns, for the advancement of its designs, the advantages of mystery and open avowal.

When the law against public criers appeared, an attempt was made to prevent its execution. The committee protested; the criers re-appeared in the streets; they were seized; they resisted; tumultuous groups assembled; the police sergeants with their companies of national guards and military interfered; a riot ensued; the repression was effective; but it was also

necessary legal; sometimes perhaps merged into brutality. The was flagrant. At Lyons, Marseilles, Etienne, burst forth as Paris. An agent of municipal police named, a commissary of police dangerously wounded: governments have not angels in their service contend with demons. Much clamour was the Chamber Deputies against the rudeness of the legal agents, to palliate the conduct of the seditious: but quarrel soon to the ground. On both sides, serious calamities were expected. Determined on an attack, the republicans in quarters arrayed themselves in arms; the cabinet resolved to cut the evil in its root; eight days after the promulgation of the law against the criers, the bill against associations was presented.

I have no wish to estimate its bearing and character. It subjected to the direct authority of government (an authority always revocable) every association formed, according to the terms of the penal code, "for religious, literary, political, or other purposes." It secured, by classifying jurisdictions, by providing for the repetition of an offence, and by the precision rather than the extent of penalties, the efficacy of the arrangements. The government which proposed this law, assuredly had no intention of applying it to any societies unconnected with politics, and particularly not to religious assemblies: this was formally explained in the Chambers. But parliamentary explanations are not legislative commands; the words of one minister are not binding on his successors; the innocent as well as the most seditious meetings, religion and conspiracy,

necessity of the preliminary permission ; and even if it had never, in fact, attempted to ~~take any such~~ political, the new law was not the less in principle a serious infringement on liberty, and especially on religious liberty. It maintained, with developing, the penal code of the old Empire ; it has become the basis of legislation in the new Empire. It was a law of circumstance, necessary, I am well convinced, and which the constitutional powers had ample right to pass, but it should only have been presented as a law of exception and for a limited time. This was its true character, and thus defined, it could have feared no solid objection. But the mere name of exceptional law had become so unpopular, it seemed so closely allied to the worst reminiscences of the Revolution and the Restoration, that no one, whether amongst the friends or enemies of the cabinet, would have desired to assume its responsibility. When amendments were proposed in this sense, they were almost unanimously rejected. A defective principle was received rather than an appearance in disrepute. It was preferred to restrict popular rights in perpetuity, rather than to suspend them formally for a given time, while acknowledging their existence. This was not the only instance in which public feeling has shown itself so judicious and so much governed by routine in its prepossessions, to the great injury of the lasting interests and liberties of the country.

During these days the Chamber gravely discussed this bill. Never perhaps had all opinions, and every shade of opinion manifested themselves so sincerely. The partisans of the policy of resistance, convinced

that they were facing an urgent necessity, and fulfilling an imperious duty, adhered without scruple to the proposed law, and defended it as energetically as did the ministers themselves. In the opposition, the body of the party, the men who honourably desired to maintain the government of 1830, were perplexed; they felt the evil, but were unable to find the remedy; they proposed others more suited to calm their own doubts than to cure the mischief. M. Béranger de la Drôme, and M. Odilon Barrot, were the honourable and able exponents of this conscientious and ineffectual timidity. In both camps, the divided voices presented themselves, some to oppose, the other to support the bill, but on grounds entirely foreign to the general turn of the debate. M. Mauguin, with the dexterous and sometimes brilliant eloquence in which his foppishness displayed itself, took up the quarrel of the first days of June, 1830, of the Hôtel de Ville against the Chamber of Deputies, of M. Casimir Périer against M. Laffitte, imputing to the policy of resistance all the evils and perils of the position; appealing to all the revolutionary passions and practices, while assuming the air of discarding them with the contempt of a conventional politician. M. Jouffroy admitted the danger of the associations, without thinking it so serious, and the utility of the law, without believing it to be as effectual as its supporters imagined. It was, he said, a more profound evil, to which the country was a prey, and one which required a more potent remedy. Since the decline of faith and Christian discipline, France was harassed by an unsatisfied moral want, the true cause of our social disturbances; and he called the solicitude of

power to the elevated point of the horizon, while according to it, in the inferior regions, the support it demanded. Unconnected with two in presence, but highly interested spectators of the blows they mutually exchanged, M. Berryer and M. Garnier-Pagès—the one in the name of monarchical right, the other on behalf of universal suffrage and the republic; the first with his expansive eloquence, the second with his clear succinctness,—indulged in the easy satisfaction of saying to the cabinet and the opposition, “You are dealing with an incurable evil; your remedies are unjust and futile; resign yourselves to your impotence and your perils.” The Chamber listened to all with sympathy and displeasure, according to its feelings were satisfied or wounded, but completely independent of the orators: the gravity of the situation had previously regulated its opinions and conduct; the firmness of resolution had subdued passion. The debate, solid and brilliant, was neither stormy nor effectual; at the end of fifteen days, the Chamber, by a strong majority, passed the bill as it probably would have passed it on the first evening; that is to say, exactly as it had been presented by the cabinet, who immediately carried it to the Chamber of Peers.

Before it underwent there the trial of a fresh debate, an unexpected incident altered its composition and the ministry, and opened a series of lamentable complications. The decrees issued at Berlin and Milan by the Emperor Napoleon in 1806 and 1807 in reprisal for the British orders in council in 1805 and 1806 of neutral powers during the war, had led to the seizure or de-

struction of a great number of American vessels. In 1810, when the relations began to be re-established between France and America, the Government of the United States warmly demanded for its citizens, indemnities to the amount of nearly seventy millions. In 1812, the Emperor Napoleon admitted the principle of the demand, and it then became the object of his reports, the result of which proposed to the United States an indemnity of eighteen millions, which they rejected as insufficient. The different cabinets of the Restoration, without contesting the fact of the justice of the American claims, eluded their effectual examination, and the government of July, at its accession, found the question still pending and urgent. The new government was justly anxious to preserve the best possible understanding with the United States; their demands became the object of a most careful inquiry, and on the 4th of July, 1831, under the ministry of M. Casimir P rier, a treaty signed by General S bastiani settled a twenty-five millions indemnity due to the Americans, first deducting from that sum 1,500,000 francs to satisfy various demands of French citizens upon the United States. The American Government, moreover, granted on the wines of France, for ten years, very advantageous privileges. Soon after the formation of the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, M. Humann submitted to the Chamber of Deputies the financial measures necessary for the execution of this treaty. The session was too far advanced for the bill to be then discussed. Re-introduced during the session of 1833, and subsequently in the session of 1834, it became, on

the 10th of March, the object of a long report, in which M. Jay, in the name of a unanimous committee, proposed its complete adoption. The debate was not violent, there was no pretext for violence, but it was obstinate. I do not hesitate to say, that the cold nature of that epoch, that the Duke de Broglie and M. Ducloux demonstrated peremptorily the moral equity and political wisdom of the transaction, which put an end, between the countries, to an old quarrel becoming daily more embittered. The law of nations and sound sense equally prescribed the fulfilment of the promise. But the question was one which involved a crowd of others, insignificant, obscure, and overloaded with details and figures, in which the subtlety of legists and the malice of opponents could readily find arms. They did not spare themselves; the discussion was closed exactly at the moment when an ill-understood incident embarrassed the principal question, and Article 1, which was in fact the bill itself, was rejected by a majority of eight.

The Chamber was not prepared for this result, and sought with anxiety for an explanation. There were rumours of intrigues and smothered dissensions in the cabinet. Amongst our faithful adherents some said that the twenty-five millions to be paid to the United States deranged M. Humann's budget, and made it perceptible that he had no great chance that the bill should pass. M. Humann was incapable of such disloyalty; but he had committed the error of not speaking in the Chamber in support of the measure he had himself proposed. Silence, maintained through complaisance to our own inclination, easily

construed into insult. **CHAMPEL** accused Marshal Soult, who was supposed to be hostile to the Duke de Broglie from jealousy of ill-temper, and some of the **CHAMPEL** intimate friends were named as having, it was said, voted against the bill. However this might be, the Duke de Broglie, so proud as he was unambitious, and resolved not to submit to a personal check, immediately waited on the King to tender his resignation. General Sébastiani, who had joined the Council as minister without a portfolio, for the express support of the treaty he had signed, followed his example, and thus an open breach existed in the cabinet.

It became urgent to close it. Within the Chambers, the law against associations was in suspense; without, insurrection murmured on all sides, waiting only a propitious hour to explode. My intimacy with the Duke de Broglie did not lead me to hesitate for a moment. I declared myself ready to remain in the lists to continue the combat, provided I was not only certain, but evident, that the policy of resistance was not compromised; and that the cabinet, though weakened in its composition, had lost nothing in determination. I required also that the successor of the Duke de Broglie should be one of his friends, well known for such, and prepared to follow, in Foreign affairs, the same line of conduct. Admiral de Riguy answered fully to both conditions, and forthwith the portfolio of Foreign affairs, while yielding that of the Ministry to M. Jacob. The changes did not stop there. Two other ministers, M. Barthe and M. d'Argout, had certainly not been wanting, since

the formation of the cabinet, either in fidelity or in principle; but they had little influence in the Chambers, and were more attached than they were supported. M. Thiers and I arranged between us, in leaving the government, they should neither accuse the Crown nor their colleagues of ingratitude, and that they should propose to the King effective measures. The King agreed to our suggestions; M. Thiers passed to the department of the Interior; M. Dûchétel, one of my most intimate friends, and who had recently defended with much firmness the American treaty, succeeded him in the ministry of Trade and Public Works. M. Persil, who had served his apprenticeship in judicial practice, and in a parliamentary defence of the policy of resistance, became Chancellor in place of M. Barthe, and four days after the retirement of the Duke de Broglie the cabinet was re-constructed.

On the same day, when it met for the first time, the 5th of April, the Republican insurrection at Lyons burst forth. Such was, in truth, from its commencement, the character of the sanguinary struggle of which Lyons again became the theatre in 1834. In November, 1831, during the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, in the industrial question, the quarrel respecting wages and compulsory tariffs, which had excited sedition; the labouring population of Lyons had risen in private grievances and without any political conspiracy. The revolutionary party fomented the movement and eagerly joined in it, but the greater part of the Lyonesse workmen loudly protested against the designs of which they were the imputed instru-

I have already repeated their demeanour and language on that occasion. Beaten in 1831 in their personal struggle, they had remained desponding and irritated. The revolutionary party among themselves vigorously work to encourage these feelings. In 1833, there were three journals in Lyons, the "Precursor," the "Gleaner," and the "Echo of the Manufactory;" as opposite in shade and style, as the "National" and "Tribune" in Paris, but all three republican, declared enemies of the monarchy of 1830, and zealous for its overthrow. Secret societies expanded rapidly in Lyons, and entered into relations with the various associations of the operatives, which became from day to day more intimate. The "Carbonari" had there their *Invisible Committee*; the *Society of the Rights of Man*, was formed in October, 1833, a central committee empowered to conduct, in the city and surrounding departments, its affairs and associates. The heads of the party, amongst others, M. Godfrey Cavaignac and M. Garnier Pagès, visited Lyons from time to time, alternately exhorting and restrain their people, but always to organize in concert an impending insurrection. A revolution was attempted, but absolutely failed in Lyons, but at its gates and in a foreign land, supplied the signal and the impulse. French Italian refugees, including Poles and others, who resided in Switzerland, and in France bordering on Switzerland, proposed to enter Savoy in arms, and to excite a movement in that quarter, to march on the Alps, to cross the Alps and raise Italy, and on the other to recross the frontier and spread through France. The leader,

speak more correctly, the soul of Italian revolution, M. Massini, was in Switzerland, whence he politically planned the insurrection. General Ramorino, who had acquired fame in Poland, was in military command. In 1833, he good, or under doubtful pretence, the general departed, returned, hesitated, and delayed. The project was adjourned. On the passionate enthusiasm of M. Massini, it was resumed at the end of January, 1834, and then arranged amongst the conspirators. When the expedition began its march, the operatives of Lyons demanded an increase of wages, suspend labour in all workshops if it should be refused, and thus deliver over to the movement an idle, irritated, and suffering population. Towards the 10th of February, these measures were simultaneously carried out. The refugees entered Savoy; the Lyonesse labourers, either of their own accord or driven by menaces, suspended work in the manufactory. On the very onset, the attempt of the refugees failed miserably. Ill led, and finding no support in Savoy, they returned precipitately to France and Switzerland: the soldiers dispersed, and the chiefs sought refuge in their asylums. Indeed, themselves, the Lyonesse labourers became uneasy and divided. "They refuse to work," thus wrote one of the leaders, "and are unwilling to commence. They say the first step belongs to the republicans. They deceive themselves. At all events, in a few days, necessity will force them where they should already have been led by patriotism and duty. The groups we have are singing

Marseillais ■ the ■■■■ Terreaux. They have just been re-assembled in the streets adjoining the square of the Hotel de Ville. They will finish ■■■■ long." The day had not yet arrived. Many amongst ■■■■ labourers ■■■■ resume work. They called upon the prefect to arrange their disagreement with ■■■■ manufacturers. ■■■■ prefect of Lyons in 1834, M. de Gasparin, was a man equally prudent, firm, and patient; as judicious in the practical exercise of administration as ■■■■ was well instructed in the principles of public economy. ■■■■ replied ■■■■ he ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ interfere in the relations between the workmen and their employers, and that mutual liberty ought ■■■■ between them: he preserved order and freedom at the same time. ■■■■ the close of February, the workmen grew tired of idleness as painful ■■■■ it ■■■■ vain, and resumed their labours. At Lyons, the industrial quarrel thus subsided, but in Paris the political struggle became more and more ardent. The Chamber of Deputies ■■■■ the bill against associations; the republicans found in ■■■■ bill, flames to rekindle ■■■■ ■■■■ Lyons. Those amongst the workmen who had engaged in the *Society of the Rights of Man*, readily disseminated irritation and mistrust amongst their comrades. Certain leaders had been arrested as promoters of ■■■■ and combination. They appeared on the 5th of April ■■■■ the tribunal. Confident in the moral authority of justice, and jealous of its dignity, ■■■■ president ■■■■ King's attorney ■■■■ on the preceding day requested of the prefect that no armed force should ■■■■ previously employed, to protect them on

their seats. The court was opened; a crowd pressed into the hall and surrounding square; a great tumult ensued; a witness for the prosecution was insulted and ~~murdered~~. The King's attorney, M. Chegaray, young, courageous, and enthusiastic in his duty, ran ~~on~~ to protect him, and was himself insulted and ~~murdered~~ in his turn. The president hastily called for military aid; a picquet of infantry arrived, few in number and embarrassed in ~~the~~ movements. "No bayonets," shouted the crowd, and workmen amicably snatched the ~~weapons~~ from the hands of the soldiers, who defended them weakly. The court rose, and adjourned the trial to the 9th of April, in the midst of the tumultuous joy of the republicans, who flattered themselves that they had run over the troops and intimidated the authorities.

On the 9th of April, as soon as day broke, ~~panic~~ could exist no longer; Lyons was in prey, not to a confused and tumultuous agitation, but to a violent and organised movement; it was evident that resolutions had been taken, instructions given, preparations accomplished, and the hour appointed. The court was to open at eleven o'clock: up to this moment, the square of Saint-John was vacant and quiet. The insurgents had determined to ~~appear~~ in a ~~mass~~ and suddenly. The affiliated members of the *Society of the Rights of Man* were ready and ~~assembled~~ in their respective ~~positions~~. At half-past eleven, the court being open, a first band arrived, followed by others; barricades were instantly thrown up at the angles of the square, and at the same moment in every quarter of

the city. A proclamation, issued the preceding day, loudly republican and outrageously violent against King Louis-Philippe and his ministers, was profusely circulated. The attack began on the 26th. It found the authorities, civil and military, equally prepared, waiting for the blow. In concert with the prefect and the municipal magistrates, General Aymard and the generals under his orders had arranged their plan. From daybreak, troops of all arms, provided with ammunition and stores, occupied the posts assigned to them; there was no appearance of a popular and unlooked for outbreak; it was a premeditated and organized war of the republican pretenders against the constitutional government. The contest, which stained Lyons with blood and destruction throughout five days, was maintained by the insurgents with inventive audacity and mortal fierceness; by the troops with a fidelity to their flag, and a vigour which, towards the conclusion, was not entirely divested of rage. I do not need to repeat here the details, or to discuss the mutual accusations and retorts of the two parties. All was, and civil war above every other, in a state of violence and clemency, of generosity and barbarism; in deplorable as well as in inevitable accidents. I merely propose to indicate clearly the political character of the contest of 1834. The revolutionary conspiracy was general and long breathed. While it was in explosion at Lyons, the party attempted the same stroke at a multitude of other points; at St. Etienne, at Vienne, at Grenoble, at Châlons, at Auxerre, at Arbois, at Marseilles, and at Laneville. In the streets of

Lyons, during the combat, bulletins, like the proclamations, the 42nd year of the republic, conveyed incessantly to the insurgents intelligence nearly always false, to maintain their courage. "At Vienne," said one of these bulletins (22nd of *Germinal*, April the 14th), "the national guard is in possession of the town; it has ordered the artillery despatched against us. Everywhere the insurrection spreads. Patience and courage. The garrison must become weak and demoralized. Even though it should hold its positions, we have only to keep it in check until the arrival of our friends from the departments." But the garrison did not become demoralized; the friends from the departments did not arrive; in the evening of the 13th of April, in every quarter of the city, the vanquished insurrection ceased to exist; and authority invariably re-established, was astonished to find, amongst the slain, the prisoners, and the wounded brought to the hospitals, scarcely one-tenth belonging to the workmen engaged in the silk-manufactories, and six strangers for every Lyonese.

At the first report, and from the first hour of these events, we were deceived ourselves as to their importance. While they extended their arms at a distance and excited insurrection on many points, the republican societies in Paris prepared to second vigorously these scattered risings. Far from arresting, their internal passions, their passions, and urged them on to great attempts. A gentleman of Brittany, nephew on his mother's side of La Tour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France, and who had himself acquired in the army, during fifteen years'

service, a well-deserved reputation for courage and bold capacity, M. de Kersausie, a fiery and obstinate spirit, domineering and popular, had become an ultra-democrat, a republican, a member of the central committee of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, and a despiser of all hesitation. He organized separately, on his own account, under the name of *Society of Action*, a small community of twelve men, selected one by one, all well known and knowing him, devotedly bold and obedient, full of faith in their leader, and ready to follow him without question or delay. They had amongst themselves no written communications, no fixed place or time of meeting. M. de Kersausie indicated to them when and where they were to meet, whether separately or in groups. He delivered his passing instructions, and went on to others, relying on their fidelity, and promising. As soon as the disturbances broke out in Lyons he held his followers in hand, ready for action, and waiting for his signal. By the aid of this silent organisation, the republican journals announced with a loud flourish the pretended victory of the Lyonnese insurrection: "The people are masters of the ground," said the *Tribune*, "they have proclaimed a provisional government and the republic. The troops have become gradually disheartened; a truce of twelve hours has been requested and obtained by the general. These are immense facts." The facts were false, and in his own papers as in the *Chambers*, the government denied them loudly: but where passion reigns, truth cannot destroy the effect of a lie. It was evident that the conspirators of Paris were

disposed to hasten to the aid of their brethren ■ Lyons: it was our duty, ■ while doubtful of success, to try and stifle the ■ in ■ own hearth. M. Thiers, with provident boldness, arrested the chiefs of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, ■ Godfrey Cavaignac and Kersausie alone escaped; ■ on ■ following day, M. de Kersausie, walking along the boulevards to review ■ more ■ dispersed neophytes, ■ recognized, seized, and carried away, notwithstanding ■ resistance ■ his ■ cries of "Republicans ■ the rescue!" which brought no ■. A second ■ mittee, arranged on the instant by ■ society, was equally surprised and arrested, while seals were affixed to the presses of the *Tribune*. M. Thiers took the initiative in these acts, to which ■ all, with him, pledged our responsibility; ■ did not conceal from ourselves ■ such measures, necessary to evince the firm resolution of power and well calculated ■ throw confusion amongst the insurrectionists, would scarcely suffice ■ subdue them. Still uncertain ■ the issue of ■ struggle in ■ Lyons, and ready to commence in Paris, M. Thiers and I agreed that if it continued, ■ of ■ would repair, with the Duke of Orleans, ■ the army, to defend ■ monarchy against the rebels of ■ south, while the ■ remained in Paris to watch over the safety of the King, and the general cares of ■ government. We ■ no occasion to adopt these extreme measures. On ■ 13th of April ■ telegraphic despatch arrived from Lyons, ■ the preceding evening, and running thus: "Lyons ■ delivered; ■ suburbs occupied by ■ insurgents

are in power; communications are everywhere restored; the mails recommence running this evening; the insurrection is in the disorder." Immediately, at five o'clock in the afternoon, a supplement to the "Moniteur" spread intelligence throughout the capital, adding, "In Paris, tranquillity is preserved. The accomplices and instigators of the Lyonsese meditated sinister projects. A great number are arrested. Authority is on the alert, and will put them down with the same energy. It is the duty of government to warn the madmen who may be disposed to promote disorder, that considerable forces are ready, and repression will be prompt and decisive." It was in truth to madmen that power addressed in vain the loyal announcement. Many who until then had confined themselves to hostile speculations, expecting victory at Lyons, yielded at once, on hearing the defeat, to the transports of rage, the desire of vengeance, and the shame of having done nothing themselves for the cause to which their friends had devoted themselves. On this same day, the 18th of April, at five in the evening, the insurrection broke out in Paris. Numerous barricades were erected in the most populous quarters on both banks of the Seine; cries of "Long live the Lyonsese! Long live the republic!" were loudly repeated. A young officer of the national guard, M. Baillot, who was carrying an order to the mayoralty of the 12th division, was killed by a shot from a concealed hand; the captain of the 4th legion, M. Chapuis, and several officers, were struck and severely wounded when approaching the barricades. These

sudden and dark attacks excited passion, from the first moment, in the heart of the struggle. Closely pressed on all sides, the insurgents were compelled to concentrate in the same quarter which had been on the 5th and 6th of June, 1832, the theatre of the desperate resistance. Night fell; the leaders of the national guard and the army resolved to wait the return of day to prevent them from their retreat. Towards midnight, General Bugeaud marched to take up a position he considered necessary to occupy. M. Thiers accompanied him, being anxious to reconnoitre in person the full extent of the combat and danger. They traversed the entire line of the houses at the head of a small column, with no other light than that of candles placed in the windows, which fell on the uniforms and arms. A shot fired from the loop-hole of a cellar, killed a captain of their body; another mortally wounded a young auditor of the state council who had brought a message to M. Thiers. As they advanced, fresh victims fell, and the murderers were sought for in vain. Anger inflamed the bosoms of the soldiers. As soon as day appeared, a general attack was directed against the insurgents; they fled into narrow and winding streets, and there, lying in ambuscade behind their barricades, or concealed in the houses, they fired without being seen, and escaped without being seized. In the Rue Transnonain, seven soldiers carried away a wounded captain on a hand-barrow. Several shots, proceeding from a house before which they passed, assailed them and killed their officer in their hands. Frantic with rage, they burst open the doors, rushed

through every story, into every room, and a cruel and blindly revenged savage assassination. He belonged to the brigade of General Lascours, one of the most equitable, humane, and liberal officers in the army. He was not on the spot when this lamentable event took place, and when called upon to explain it in the Chamber of Peers, in which he sat, he did so with human firmness, defending, as he was bound to do, the soldiers and the army, without palliating or excusing their transports of passion. During the time of popular and military effervescence, murder and vengeance flow rapidly. By seven in the morning, the firing had ceased; a few scattered shots were heard at intervals, fired from a distance by the fugitives, but nothing was seen in the streets except prisoners in charge of their escorts. On the same day, as soon as the Chambers met, Admiral de Rigny in the Peers, and I in the Deputies, announced that in Paris as in Lyons the insurrection was put down. The Chambers once suspended their sittings, and repaired in a body to the King, to congratulate him on the suppression of anarchy; the revolutionary attempt which had just miscarried could not have produced through France any other result, and deserved no better.

When a government has been compelled to gain victories like these, it becomes an imperative duty to adopt on the instant such measures as may prevent for the future a similar necessity. The most urgent step was to expose completely the nature of these deplorable events; to state causes and progressive develop-

ment, the characters and views of their authors. It was necessary that, before the whole country, the broad light of day should be thrown on the revolutionary disorders, the symptoms, causes, and effects. It was also essential that the material resources which had assisted these sanguinary disorders should be taken from and interdicted to those who had either used or were disposed to use them for such a culpable purpose. To enlighten minds and direct hands should be the earliest care of power, and the first fruits of success. We succeeded to satisfy this double necessity. On the following day, a royal decree referred to the Court of Peers the judgment of the general outrage or outrages which had been perpetrated against the safety of the state. This was at once the constitutional jurisdiction and the only tribunal capable of carrying light into the chaos of facts and actors, by placing equity ever on a line with law. I shall hereafter, with what efficacy, in spite of unheard-of obstacles, the Court of Peers acquitted itself of this mission. On the same day, the 15th of April, a bill was presented to the Chamber of Deputies to regulate the conditions under which arms and munitions of war might be held, and the penalties to which those persons would be exposed who neglected to obey them, or employed them for offensive resources illegitimately. Complete and strengthened by the two Chambers, this law was immediately promulgated; and on the very day of its promulgation, the 20th of May, 1834, the Chamber of Deputies, which verged on the term of its powers, was dissolved, and the meeting of the electoral colleges decreed.

It became us, after such a struggle, to appeal to the country.

Our judgment was highly favourable to us; the election sanctioned the policy of resistance and our victory. The opposition lost nearly a third of their strength. The restoration of public confidence, the promptly following revival of business, the general satisfaction which accompanied itself, confirmed the suffrage of the electoral body, and proved how completely we were of the population were strangers to the wiles and plots of the conspirators. "I am content," M. de Rémusat wrote me from Toulouse: "I see the victory as less sufficient. It is not that the internal state of society appears to me re-assuring; but, on that point, I only expect a remedy from time, which will either bring back reason, or produce changes superior to any we can foresee. To look on matters merely as a practical politician, I could not have desired a more complete triumph. Ours may give rise to tendencies which, in my opinion, we ought equally to repulse. The first, which might lead you into a reaction under pretence of completing your work; the second, which might induce a general dispersion through want of security. Do not adopt new measures of order unless they are commanded them; and do not revoke any of the concessions, great or not, which may have been accorded in the name of public liberty. On these two conditions the evils which that I so much dread may be equally avoided."

The cabinet was not inclined to commit violence. We had no desire to provoke fresh disorders by aggravating

victorious repression; or to restrain legal liberties, the presence of which gave us with the public a great moral force, whose strength had never failed in the days of peril. I replied to M. de Villeneuve "The victory is, in fact, great; but the approaching campaign will be very arduous. The evident disposition here is to a general panic. Every one believes, and will believe himself free to think, speak, and act as he may please: every one will give himself over to the bent of his prejudices and his personal pretensions. They repeat on all sides, with little complaisance, that the situation is much changed, that things and persons will assume an entirely new phase, that there will be no question of revolts, of imminent dangers, or of imperious necessities. There is truth in this, but not much as is said. Things have not changed; dangers do not thus disappear in the twinkling of an eye. We have made a great step in the road of consolidation and security: but we shall yet totter in it more than once, and more than once we shall have to rally and show front to the enemy. Take it for certain that for a long time to come we shall have enough of peril on our hands to render firmness and discipline indispensable to all these people so eager to reassure and emancipate themselves."

We were on the point of encountering difficulties of a different kind from insurrections and conspiracies, and these were serious, although less conspicuous. Everything indicated to us that the new Chamber, tranquil as to public order and general policy; would be, on financial questions, exacting and suspicious. An idea gained ground that in the bosom of European peace, and after

the factions, the army might be reduced; the war might be expensive; that, in the department, large savings might be effected, which would lead to the reduction of certain taxes. "The finances," M. Rémusat also observed in a letter to me, "will occupy more attention than ever; they say currently henceforward the financial question will comprise the entire policy." We foresaw that, in the approaching session, the third party would seek and find in this question an easy means of popular attack; the conversation of M. Dupin declared beforehand what would be, when he resumed the presidential arm-chair, the dominant language in this respect.¹ Marshal Soult, in particular, was the object of complaints and suspicions; he con-

¹ In the short speech he delivered, according to custom, when taking possession of the chair, on the 9th of August, 1834, he thus expressed himself: "Above all other things must occupy your minds is our financial condition. Vainly has the Chamber proclaimed, in three successive addresses, 'that it was necessary to labour without rest to place the expenses in equilibrium with the revenue, and to confine the ministers rigidly within the allocations of the budget.' (Addresses of 1833, and 1834.) The contrary has always happened. The expenses have more and more continued to overbalance the receipts; the limits of the legislative credits have been constantly exceeded. Nevertheless, gentlemen, the Chamber holds the initiative in taxation: it fixes, by its allocations, the amount of charge with which the country is to be burdened. It ought not then to allow the hand to be forced after the blow, by the tardy allegation that it must pay what, in spite of itself, has been once expended.

"If the existing legislation is insufficient to parry this abuse, we must look for a more effectual remedy: but, assuredly, the Chamber ought to direct its most serious attention to this point, on pain of seeing the sovereignty annulled which belongs to it in the matter of subsidies, and of falling in the eyes of the nation from the rank it occupies and ought to maintain in the constitution."

extravagant and disorderly, regardless of the wishes of the Chambers, was complaisant with the King; and his administration more active than regular, his measures his innovations often costly and doubtful, his manner of explaining matters and repulsing attacks at once confused and harsh, readily furnished arms against him and chilled many of his friends of the cabinet. Such, as regarded him, was the state of people's minds, that even out of France observant spectators were struck by it. M. de Barante, in a letter from Turin on the 21st of June, 1834, said:—"The Marshal will before long become a great subject of embarrassment: I know, because I have written to me, and even without these letters, that so much expense is incurred to the country, and so long endured. And yet, can he be compared with an administrator for an army? Is not a commander-in-chief indispensable? With foreigners, who know nothing of public sentiment or the force of opinion, the government seems to rely on the marshal. I foresee his fall, and it makes me tremble."

To the embarrassments awaiting us, on his account, Marshal Soult added others, even in the bosom of the cabinet, and in his intercourse, whether with the King, or with his colleagues. No individual has ever presented such a striking example of the diversity of qualities and how by military power is acquired and exercised in military and civil life. When he had to deal with his companions in arms, generals, officers, or soldiers, Marshal Soult had just the same resolute perceptions, powerful instincts, happy words and movements, and gave them a rare authority. Even Hulot, whom he had

placed on half-pay, vented his ill-temper on him with a degree of violence which had the air of personal provocation. "Do you entertain such an idea, general," said the marshal, in reply; "you forget that for forty years I only fight with cannon-balls." One day, while he was in council at the War-office, he ordered Colonel Simon Lorient to be summoned, that he might send him on a mission to Nantes. Having received his instructions, with an order to start immediately, the colonel retired; but he had scarcely left the room, when he suddenly returned, saying, "Marshal, where shall I find a carriage?"—"Do you take me for a coachmaker?" retorted the marshal, brusquely closing the door upon him. This mixture of hauteur and roughness, and his wit, was familiar to the Duke of Dalmatia in the army, and was always successful. But when he had to deal with politicians, very different from himself in origin, ideas, and habits, and with independent associates, this great military chief lost much of his peculiar qualities and advantages. He was deficient in tact, he misjudged situations and characters, and displayed more meddling activity and restless cunning than prompt and acute sagacity. He was suspicious, susceptible, and surly, and seemed desirous of revenging himself by being troublesome, for the influence he could not obtain. Here he succeeded too well; he all endured impatiently his exactions, his vacillations, and the inequalities of his temper. It was extremely burdensome to have to do before the Chambers for a confused administration, which defended itself weakly. The King himself, who had known Marshal Soult, "for I

want," he, "a great sword," complained of his caprices, and grew weary of continual reconciliations.

A question which then began to present in full importance, the question of Algeria, furnished an occasion for the open demonstration of this misunderstanding in the interior of the cabinet, which until had been restrained. The affairs of France herself, since 1830, had been so serious and pressing, that the government had only been able to bestow on Algeria a portion of the and strength which the necessity required. Fully resolved, both by honour and instinct, not to abandon what the Restoration conquered, it had maintained at Algiers the troops indispensable to resist the efforts for our expulsion continually attempted by the Turks and Arabs. Four military commandants, General Clausel, General Berthesène, Duke of Rovigo, and General Voirol, had succeeded each other there with different arrangements, and continual alternations of success and By the single fact of our presence, and by the necessities or excitement of the war, our dominion had extended itself to all principal points of the old regency. We had assumed the attitude and commenced the works of conquerors of the country; but our possession was extremely limited, precarious, rudely disputed, and equally unsettled as to extent as the system of permanent administration suitable for adoption. The progressive increase of expenditure, and the continued doubt as to our plan of conduct, excited anxious solicitude. In 1833, a commission, composed of distinguished members, naval and military, drawn from the

Chambers, was instructed to visit Algiers, and study on the spot what was doing there, what might be done, the expectations that were formed, and the methods of realizing them. On their return, another important commission, presided over by the Duke Decazes, collected all the facts, discussed and explained them in a long published report; and at the end of April, 1834, a grand debate, originating in the Chamber of Deputies, on the occasion of the budget, seriously occupied both houses of legislature, on the subject of the retention and mode of government of Algiers, and of the heaviest embarrassments of the cabinet. Two points presented themselves in this debate: one, that Algeria was a burden on France which it would be wise to get rid of, and which at least it was necessary to lighten as much as possible, while waiting what experience would evidently suggest, and the enlightened feeling of the country might consider advisable; the other, that the exclusively military government of Algeria was the compromising of all, the infected with abuses it was impossible to forestall, and that immediate measures should be adopted to substitute a civil chief for the generals, and a legislator to supersede the conquerors. M. Dupin and M. Passy, in particular, ably developed these ideas, and their arguments, their criticisms on the past, their anticipations of the future, their disquietude, manifested with an honourable independence of popular prejudices, left a deep impression on the minds of many reflecting members in the different sessions of the Chamber.

Nearly all the M. Dupin and M. Passy was

true; but they forgot other **men** even superior **to** those with which they appeared **to** strongly imbued. With **men** **as** with individuals, greatness **has** **its** **own** **laws** **and** **conditions**, **from** **which** **they** **cannot** **with-**
draw themselves without decline, and Providence assigns **to** **them**, **in** **the** **superintendence** **of** **human** **affairs**, **a** **part** **which** **they** **are** **bound** **to** **fill**. It **is** **in** **the** **bold** **and** **bold** **enterprises** **and** **resolute** **perseverances** **of** **which** **occasions** **offer** **to** **the** **lives** **of** **nations** **are** **equally** **prescribed** **to** **them**; there **are** **many** **both** **unlawful** **and** **irrational**, **which** **they** **may** **shun** **without** **diminution** **of** **honour**. What **are** **those** **which** **assume** **the** **highest** **and** **most** **imperious** **character**? This **is** **a** **question** **of** **political** **intelligence**, **and** **if** **I** **may** **be** **allowed** **the** **expression**, **of** **man's** **intuition** **into** **divine** **order**. The retention of Algeria was, I feel convinced, after 1830, **a** **necessity** **of** **this** **kind**; it involved **a** **loss** **of** **personal** **greatness** **for** **France**, **and** **a** **duty** **towards** **the** **future** **of** **the** **Christian** **world**. We should have been **more** **weakened** **and** **bent** **by** **rejecting** **the** **burden** **than** **by** **continuing** **to** **bear** **it**.

The retention of Algeria once determined, the maintenance of a military supremacy there in 1830 was an equal necessity, not only for the security of our conquest, but for the interior administration. The removal of all evils in a newly born and still disturbed state, the doubt and discord in the bosom of authority. To subdue and govern the Arabs was our first business in Africa, much more urgent and incessant than the care of legislating for a few scattered colonists. For this end, unity, promptitude, and military discipline were indispensable. Serious measures, a strong system, and

however sedulously the central power might labour to restrain them, it could not expect their total suppression; but the opposition and mutual enfeeblement of the incompatible agencies would have been more pernicious. It is the duty of all governments to admit, without ceasing to resist them, the inconveniences of a necessary choice between two opposing systems. It was also to be expected that many of our officers well known by their animated, firm, and sympathetic intelligence, to the government of Arabs, would speedily adapt themselves to their new mission. Already, in 1832, Captain Lamoricière, the first head of the first Arabian bureau organized by General Trézel, and at that time chief of the staff of the army of Africa, supplied a good example and a happy augury. It is well known, that in spite of some lamentable exceptions, this institution accomplished more than was expected.

Being called upon to decide the two questions thus laid down in regard to Algeria, we were instructed for a long time as to continuing the establishment in that country. Marshal Soult declared, in the name of the council, that France would at all hazards retain her conquest. On the mode of governing the province we were clear-sighted and decided. The abuses of the military system had made much noise; the Chamber of Deputies, vexed and unresolved, had reduced the measures required for colonization; a civil form of legislation, it was hoped, would produce less violence in Africa, and be more favourably received in France. The Duke of Orleans recently presided with much activity and practical intelligence over the grand commission,

whose report had brought the facts in light clearly exposed the questions. At a meeting of the cabinet, his name was proposed for the government of Algeria, which was said it was time to change to civil, to remove the complaints excited by the military system, and to remove the obstacles which the same complaints had given rise in the Chambers. Marshal Soult abruptly rejected this idea as an offensive personality, and maintained the absolute necessity of a military governor. The discussion became warm, and was renewed at several successive sittings. The marshal, so obstinate in defending his opinion, declared, while losing his temper, that he would retire from the cabinet rather than yield this point. The minister of Marine, Admiral Jacob, exclaimed with agitated surprise, "But, marshal, your retirement would dissolve the cabinet; if you were dead, indeed, we might get on without you!" At this the marshal's ill-humour redoubled. M. Thiers and I, and nearly all our colleagues with us, were little disturbed by this menace; the occasion seemed favourable for ridding ourselves of a president who had become more troublesome than useful, and whom we endured as impatiently in the cabinet, as in the Chambers we found it difficult to support him. We persisted in demanding a civil governor for Algeria, which the marshal so obstinately resisted. The session approached; it was impossible for the cabinet to meet it in this state of inert discord: we resolved to bring it to an end. The King made many objections to our overtures. "Take care," said he, "Marshal Soult is an important personage. I

know as well as you the objectionable points, it is something to be aware of them; with his assistance if he accepts (the question related to Marshal Gérard) your embarrassments, will be different but perhaps even more serious; you will lose by the change." We determined to persist. The King left Paris on the eighth of July, for the Château d'Eu; I accompanied him, being commissioned by my colleagues to persuade him to the measure, while M. Thiers, more closely connected than any of us with Marshal Gérard, should induce the latter to fill the expected vacancy. I had scarcely arrived at the Château d'Eu, when I received this letter from M. Thiers: "I have held a long conversation, and this is the result: there is no longer any dread, as there was two months since, of the weight of business; the tribune is the source of fear; this is evidently the apprehension of a man who thinks he is going to execute himself. I said distinctly, that I spoke in accord with you and Rigny, that we intended to take a formal step on the next opportunity, and I was answered: 'But take care; see that you thoroughly understand each other; I am weary of the burden.' In fact, I have obtained neither yes nor no, and my conviction is that the party would yield to the regular attack by the King. Let the King thoroughly understand the necessity of extricating us from a terrible position in which we lose something every day." The day following, M. Thiers was confident. "My guest of yesterday has returned; his wife, alarmed for his health, works incessantly to snatch him from us. He retires out of sight, and I

see no longer the means of building on a ground that gives way indefinitely. Be, therefore, less urgent with the King; it might mislead him by a deceitful hope. I thought, with our friends, of the illustrious personage in London, when a telegraphic message from Coblenz to-day announced the retirement of Lord Grey. Here is a new horizon. It may probably furnish an occasion to act, and more likely one to do nothing. We must see, and think of demanding a concession from the old marshal." On the day after, Marshal Gérard appeared more amenable. "It is thought," wrote M. Thiers, "that the impossibility of getting M. de Talleyrand, who is at present indispensable in London, may act upon my guest, who always retreats on the chance of obtaining more else. All our colleagues, Rigny, Duchâtel, and Persil, are unanimous in the impossibility of going on much longer as we are."

The more the uncertainty continued, the more the difficulty of the *quo* increased. The King, it, and while still repeating his objections and prognostics, determined to press himself the acceptance of Marshal Gérard. The distribution of prizes at the close of the exhibition of the produce of manufactures recalled him to Paris; we quitted the Chateau d'Eu on the 11th of July, and on the 18th the *Moniteur* announced that the resignation of Marshal Soult was accepted, and Marshal Gérard was appointed minister of War and president of the Council.

I relate this ministerial crisis in some detail to establish its true character. Spectators, when such incidents occur, are disposed to look for hidden motives,

views, profound intrigues, and attribute perplexities of drama to the passions or personal interests of the actors. They thus gratify by displaying, under the mantle of history, plots of tragedy and comedy learnedly invented. Several writers, the occasion of the I have here related, have fallen into imaginary and credulous sagacity. They saw, in the retirement of Marshal Soult in 1834, the winding up of a long struggle between of the sword and the men of speech, a symptom of a flagrant rivalry between M. Thiers and myself, the smothered working of impatient ambitions, still, however, constrained to march to their end by indirect ways. I know the complication of moving powers which decides the conduct of men, and how many conflicting sentiments, secret desires, and flattering aspirations rise within their hearts as events unfold themselves, and gradually disclose the perspectives of the future. But under a system of liberty and publicity, these concealed and purely personal incentives are far from playing, in the march of affairs, the important part attributed to them; and when men of well-regulated, rational minds, are engaged in the government of their country, whatever may be their temptations and weaknesses, they are permanently influenced in their actions by public motives and exigencies. It is quite possible that with the retirement of Marshal Soult some of the interests may have been mixed up by which has been attempted to be explained; it may be that he had no great love for the orators and doctrinaires, and that they in turn desired a leader more sympathetic and

dependable for their cause and ~~that~~. It may be that ~~M.~~ Thiers preferred, as president of the Council, ~~Marshal~~ Gérard, whose political ~~views~~ approached his own, and over whom he might promise himself a particular influence; but none of these motives ~~could~~ much ~~be~~ do with ~~the~~ removal of ~~Marshal~~ Soult, which ~~was~~ determined by the purely political causes I have just explained. It ~~was~~ an error, and a double ~~error~~ on our part. We were wrong in 1834, in insisting on a civil ~~government~~ in Algeria; ~~that~~ day ~~was~~ far from having arrived. We ~~were~~ wrong in seizing that opportunity of breaking ~~with~~ Marshal Soult, and of driving him from the cabinet; he caused us parliamentary embarrassments and personal annoyances, but he never opposed, and often essentially served our general policy. It was for ~~us~~ to give the Chambers the counsel ~~and~~ example of supporting it, and if it ~~was~~ destined to fall, it was better that ~~it~~ should fall before a public check ~~than~~ by an internal movement. The retirement of the Duke ~~de~~ Broglie had already weakened the cabinet; ~~that~~ of ~~the~~ Duke of Dalmatia aggravated ~~the~~ evil, and we soon discovered that the door by which he went ~~was~~ remained ~~an~~ open breach for the enemy ~~to~~ ~~be~~ tended with.

As soon as ~~the~~ session opened, the ~~new~~ proposed in ~~the~~ new Chamber of Deputies revealed the danger. This was the work and manœuvre of the third party, to whom the accession of ~~Marshal~~ Gérard imparted hope and confidence. The work was equivocal and ~~the~~ manœuvre cunning, according ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~theory~~ and practice ~~of~~ their authors. ~~The~~ cabinet and ~~its~~ policy

of resistance in the address, but still less they supported; congratulations were lavished on the victories that had restored order, but care was taken not to side with the victors, and to leave glimpses of a desire for another standard. Men are much more anxious to deliver themselves from their fears than from their dangers: the third party wished to believe and persuade others that the struggle was definitively closed, and that nothing remained to speak of conciliation and peace. These weaknesses of mind and heart were precisely what we find on the most occasion to dread, for they enervated and paralyzed in presence of energetic foes, who thought of nothing less than laying down their arms. When the address was in debate, some of our friends, amongst others General Bugeaud and M. Janvier, called for the abandonment of equivocation, and asked the Chamber to pronounce frankly for or against the well-known policy of the cabinet. Beyond the Chamber our firmest ally in the press, the *Journal des Débats*, urged us to provoke this decisive trial. I demanded explanations of the paragraph in the address, which implied malevolent insinuations against the cabinet. M. Etienne, who had drawn it up, denied these, but obscurely, and in such a manner as to give my insisting, if I had prolonged it, the air of obstinacy and aggressive obstinacy. The opposition almost unanimously voted the address, declaring with irony that it rejected the commentaries; and the cabinet strengthened in the debate, which it would have been wise to have referred into a serious combat; for no sooner had the

passed, than not only the opposition, but the very men who protested against all hostile intention, proclaimed it a heavy check to the cabinet; a check which proved its diminished credit with the Chamber, and threatened to remove it from power.

Eluded in the Chambers, the question was specifically brought forward in the interior of the cabinet. Since the defeat of the insurrections of Paris and Lyons, and the victory of the elections, a general amnesty was talked of. Marshal Gérard on entering the ministry had not made this a condition of his adherence, but it was his desire and hope. This brave man, so resolute in fields of battle, was singularly timid and wavering in the arena of politics, particularly when he had to maintain struggles which interfered with his friendships and habits. Ever ready to risk his life, he could not bear anything that deranged it. Sincerely attached to the monarchy, he was far from becoming the patron of its republican enemies; but the friends of the republicans, their old associates, their apologists more or less declared, surrounded and besieged him with their councils, their anxieties, and their wishes. They represented to him the trial impending before the Court of Peers against the vanquished insurgents as an impossible enterprise, which would bring on deplorable scenes of violence, and a fatal denouement. The prospect of this trial weighed upon the spirit of the marshal as a nightmare, from which amnesty alone could deliver him. Nothing is more seductive than generosity coming in aid of and serving as a veil to weakness. Great civil wars can only be terminated

by amnesties, provided always that the amnesty arrives at the moment when the discords are about to close and really their end. We were very far from that issue; the beaten conspirators not only still cherished their designs and hopes, but they pursued and proclaimed them with the same stubborn audacity, so arrogant and menacing in the cells of their prisons as in their journals, and loudly rejecting the amnesty which in their hearts they longed for, as a deliverance for themselves, and still a striking demonstration of the weakness and fear of the government they sought to overthrow. In the cabinet, M. Thiers and I had a profound sentiment of our position, and we looked upon the amnesty substituted for the prosecution as a mark of senseless and improvident cowardice, which would only double ardour and confidence with the enemies of established order, while it would petrify both with its defenders. The King adopted our conviction. We peremptorily refused the measure, when Marshal Gérard formally demanded it, and he retired from the cabinet on the 10th of October, 1834, much pleased, I believe, in being liberated from the responsibility which would have accompanied the adoption of his proposal, than vexed at not having succeeded in obtaining its adoption.

There is a greater error than that which springs from a great mistake. In the different sections of the opposition, hopes were extremely varied: the resignation of Marshal Gérard deceived them all, as well those who promised themselves the dislocation of the cabinet, as the party who desired the overthrow of the monarchy. Self-love was as much blinded as the conviction

was enraged, and the third party exhibited as much temper as the republicans displayed violence. It was evident that the position of the cabinet was about to become at the same time aggravated and enfeebled. After some attempts to find a new president, M. Thiers came to me one morning, when we both agreed that the best course for us to adopt was to retire, as Marshal Gérard had done, and to leave the field open to the third party. If they could form a ministry, and carry out their policy, this would prove that we were not necessary for the moment, and that our retreat was necessary; if they failed, we should gather fresh strength from the demonstrated impotence of our adversaries. M. Duchâtel, Admiral Rigny, and M. Humann, were fully of this opinion; M. Persil and Admiral Jacob alone rejected it. We proceeded to the King to tender five resignations. He was surprised and uneasy, but not to any great extent: our conduct and his reasons required no strong arguments to be mutually understood. It has been said, that all this was a concerted game between the King and us. Here is again an instance of that pretended sagacity which believes itself profound, when it can imagine ingeniously plotted intrigues, and substitutes its own arranged dreams in place of truth. There is not so much premeditation in common affairs, and their course is more natural than the ignorant crowd believes. The King saw the position as we did, and at once made up his mind to encounter the chances which we had. He sent the Count Molé, and ordered him to resign the Cabinet.

M. Thiers was as well adapted to and much

barrassed in undertaking ~~the~~ mission. ~~He~~ had not on any question any engagement whatever, either ~~for~~ against any individual person. ~~He~~ could ~~not~~ with ~~the~~ third party, and ~~secure~~ their alliance by certain concessions. But he had ~~the~~ much spirit and intelligence not ~~to~~ be desirous of maintaining the policy of resistance, and not ~~to~~ see the conditions on which it could ~~be~~ carried ~~on~~. Instead of trying ~~to~~ form a cabinet entirely new, he endeavoured ~~to~~ re-constitute, with ~~some~~ modifications, that which had just dissolved itself, and the principal elements of which he considered indispensable. Finding us resolved not ~~to~~ separate, he ~~at~~ once renounced the attempt, and the King, through the strange intervention of M. Persil, who ~~was~~ held the chancellorship, then requested the very leaders of the third party to form an administration.

But the principal person amongst them, M. Dupin, had ~~the~~ much intelligence, and bestowed too much care ~~on~~ his personal position; ~~he~~ engage in combinations evidently hazardous and weak. He refused for himself, and offered his brother ~~him~~ a pledge of his support. Two men of merit, M. Passy ~~and~~ General Bernard, consented ~~to~~ serve under his flag. Two absentees, Messrs. Bresson and Sauzet, ~~were~~ ~~also~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ their colleagues. A veteran of the Empire, the Duke of Bassano, assumed with confidence ~~the~~ helm of ~~the~~ barque, ~~as~~ lightly manned. ~~He~~ related ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ when accepting it, "This ministry will ~~reverse~~ the Revolution of July,"—a very thoughtless speech from the ~~mouth~~ of ~~an~~ ~~old~~ servant of power, and who was as vain as he was thoughtless. At ~~the~~ ~~end~~ of three days, without any

event, obstacle, or debate ■ lead ■ such ■ necessity, weary of the burden they ■ not yet borne, disliking their position with the King and ■ Chambers, and a little apprehensive of public ridicule, the ■ ministers tendered their resignation. The King then called us back, desiring us, ■ without a smile, ■ office ; and, ■ days after its retirement, ■ old cabinet returned ■ their seats, with Admiral Duperré as minister of Marine, and ■ Mortier ■ minister of War and president of the Council.

But here ■ one of the victories that ■ contest, without strengthening the conquerors. From this fugitive apparition of the third party in the government, there remained behind wounded self-loves, excited pretensions, hasty engagements, ■ compromised towards each other beyond their real feelings, and ■ the part of several sections of the opposition ■ increase of ill humour and vehemence against the ministry, fomented by the disgust arising from their ■ incapability of forming a cabinet. What they then attempted ■ attack us by evading ministerial questions, and to weaken ■ without overthrow. We ■ not disposed to accept that position : after these brisk ■ of ■ and return, we felt it necessary ■ put ■ to the parliamentary obscurities which had led ■ them, and ■ on the Chamber of Deputies to declare positively ■ against the policy ■ had hitherto exercised and intended ■ continue. In December, 1834, ■ as ■ session opened, ■ our ■ provoked ■ leading ■ question : one on the demand for an explanation of the late

ministerial crisis; the other on the credit required by the minister of the Interior to build a hall at the Luxembourg, in which the Court of Peers might hold their sessions during the great year in 1848 it had to pronounce judgment. The general question of the policy of resistance occupied part of these debates; the amnesty and the position of the moment were the object of the second. In the first, M. Dupin and M. Sauzet, the one with the brusque address, the other with his flowing and ingenious eloquence, endeavoured to dissuade the Chamber from deciding as we proposed. According to them it ought not to pledge itself to any system of policy; it was the critic and judge, not the associate of power; they endeavoured to stimulate its independence, and to awaken its prudence. The second debate was merely a cold repetition of what had already been said for or against the amnesty. The Chamber neither suffered itself to be seduced by the cajoling arguments addressed to it from the tribune, nor intimidated by the insults and threats which were hurled at it without. The spirit of government, and intelligence of the conditions of free legislation, penetrated the majority; it declared itself satisfied with the explanations of the cabinet on the maintenance of the policy of resistance, and voted the funds required to maintain the hall of justice for the Court of Peers. We came forth victorious from the two combats in which we had engaged.

During this time, the Court of Peers pursued, without regard to external clamour, the great prosecution, which was the revolt of April at Lyons, Paris,

St. Etienne, Luneville, etc., had brought it. During long civil discords, a moment arrives when they are on the decline, and always ready to recommence; a calmer day rises in the horizon, and yet the tempest still hatters and excites the waves. Two duties, imperative and difficult, then press upon the government. Policy ought not to alter justice, and justice should resume its empire in policy. The tribunals are called upon not to permit political passions to influence their decrees, and not to suffer law to become negative in the presence of political excitement. Society equally demands that revolutionary attempts should be effectually punished, and that penalties should be confined within the measure of strict and just necessity. It is as important that the fear of the laws should resume its control as that their interpreters should be calm and independent in applying them. The Court of Peers comprehended and admirably followed this principle. Since the commencement of the prosecution, in the midst of the extravagances of the accused and of the journals of their party, it sought anxiously to ascertain and bring to light the general character and chief authors of the vast conspiracy on which it had to pronounce judgment, leaving in the shade all secondary facts and agencies. According to the labours of M. Girod de l'Ain, in his commission of inquiry and report, charges were brought against four hundred and forty individuals. The attorney-general, M. Martin du Nord, in his bill of indictment reduced this number to three hundred and eighteen. The court, after long deliberation, ad-

mitted only ~~one hundred and~~ sixty-five, of ~~which~~ forty-three refused to appear. Whoever might to-day ~~take~~ the trouble of examining this enormous process in detail, would discover ~~that~~ it was impossible to combine more imperturbable firmness and intelligent equity, in the defence of public order ~~and~~ the application of the laws.

The crisis seemed at its term; the policy of resistance had triumphed over the internal embarrassments of the cabinet, and the open ~~or~~ indirect hostility of the Chambers. We had sustained it resolutely. M. Thiers, in this struggle, had been thoroughly committed with myself. We remained scrupulously faithful to our ~~policy~~ and alliance. On every question in the order of the day we were perfectly agreed. ~~Under~~ ~~the~~ filled with loyal modesty the post he had accepted from devotedness. If ~~we~~ ~~had~~ ~~any~~ appearances, the cabinet was no longer threatened either from within or without. Still it was tottering and precarious; minds were yet impressed with the recent vicissitudes. What ~~ever~~ had been roughly shaken ~~was~~ for a considerable time to be on the point of falling. In passing, within six months, from Marshal Soult to Marshal Gérard, and from Marshal Gérard to ~~Marshal~~ Mortier, the presidency of the Council had been taken more and more for a fiction, and the more the fiction became apparent the more the opposition found in it a weapon, and ~~was~~ ~~an~~ an embarrassment. Practically the question had less importance than was attributed to it. Even if we had had ~~an~~ ~~more~~ effective and interfering president of the Council, our policy and ~~we~~ could not ~~have~~ differed ~~from~~ what they were. We were perfectly

decided, united, and strong enough to carry out our ideas as well in the Tuileries as in the Chambers. The King said to M. Thiers, "Will you need have you of a president of the Council? Are you not of one mind together? Am I not in accord with you? You have a majority in the Chambers; you carry on your plans there as you wish, and I am quite satisfied with them. Why do you trouble yourselves with anything else?" The King was sufficiently impressed with the natural consequences of the representative system, with the feelings it provokes in the members who fill the parts, and the public who are spectators. As under this system, political passions and opinions are their own with the parties who express or maintain them, in like manner the parties are desirous of reinstating themselves with the King by whom they are represented or directed. Bodies instinctively endeavour to produce their head; a natural requirement of self-love and confidence. When this necessity is not satisfied, they feel themselves incomplete and insecure. The party of the policy of resistance had in M. Casimir Périer a chief who represented it worthily, and served it effectually. We aspired to find him again. A nominal president was enough for the object, and when, in seeking for a real one, attention turned towards M. Thiers and myself, we divided, instead of combining ideas and hopes. Thus, although the machine moved on regularly, and sufficed for its daily task, it seemed to want unity and a future. A blank was felt in it, and internal commotion apprehended.

Various influences were aggravated, either as

regarded the cabinet in general or myself in particular the ~~importance~~ and ~~weak~~ points of this situation.

In November, 1834, at the moment when the third party appeared and disappeared in a few days, M. de Talleyrand, at that time on leave of absence at his ~~residence~~ of Valençay, ~~presented~~ to the King his resignation of the English embassy. It was accepted and announced in the *Moniteur* on the 21st of January following; but when the letter containing it appeared, the retirement was taken place for three months. M. de Talleyrand had not adopted the step without hesitation. He liked his duties and position in London; but, although his mind still continued remarkably clear and firm, he felt the enfeeblement of age and readily yielded to fatigue. The fluctuations of policy in France; our repeated ministerial crises; the tottering aspect of power, even though triumphant; the clouds which overshadowed the future; the doubts of the European governments; all these points in the state of affairs deeply affected his confidence in his post and his mission. In England, although he was always on the same terms with Lord Grey, his relations with Lord Palmerston were less confidential and agreeable. At the moment when he decided on his retirement, the Whig cabinet fell; the Tories, with the Duke of Wellington and Robert Peel at their head, were summoned to power. The Duke of Wellington immediately wrote to M. de Talleyrand, strongly pressing him to remain as ambassador in London. M. de Talleyrand persisted in his resolution. On leaving the embassy, he explained, in his letter to the King, with rare firm-

ness of thought and language, why he had accepted in 1830; what he had done for the interest of France and for her monarch; and how, no longer considering himself as useful as he had formerly been, he now asked permission to retire. But explanations change the aspect and consequences of actions. Even with those who were far from regretting it, the retirement of M. de Talleyrand was considered, particularly at the close of doors, as an unfavourable symptom of the state of our government. General Sébastiani, who succeeded him in the embassy at London, had more real capacity than Talleyrand's European reputation. As regards French policy, his change sensibly diminished good appearance and outward authority.

A few months before M. de Talleyrand retired from public life, another remarkable individual, very different, and celebrated on very opposite grounds, M. de La Fayette, disappeared from the stage of the world. No life had ever been more passionately political than his; a man had ever placed his civil and political sentiments constantly above all other prepossessions and interests. But politics were utterly unconnected with his death. Ill for three weeks, he approached his last hour. His children and household surrounded his bed; he ceased to speak, and was doubtful whether he could still see. His son George observed that with uncertain gesture he sought for something in his bosom. He turned to his father's assistance, placed in his hand a medallion which he always wore suspended round his neck. M. de La Fayette raised it to his lips; this was his last motion. The medallion con-

tained a miniature and a lock of hair of Madame de La Fayette, his wife, whose loss he had mourned for twenty-seven years. Thus, already separated from the entire world, alone with the thought and image of the devoted companion of his life,—he died. In arranging his funeral, it was a recognized fact in the family that M. de La Fayette had always wished to be buried in the small cemetery adjoining the convent of Picpus, by the side of his wife, in the midst of victims of the Revolution, the greater part royalists and aristocrats, whose remains had foundered that pious establishment. The custom of the century of 1789 was scrupulously respected and complied with. An immense crowd—soldiers, national guards, the populace, accompanied the funeral procession along the boulevards and streets of Paris. Arrived at the gate of the convent of Picpus, the crowd halted; the interior-enclosure could only admit two or three hundred persons. The family, the nearest relatives, and the principal authorities entered, passed through the gates in silence, then across the garden, and finally entered the cemetery. There, no political manifestation took place; no oration was pronounced; religion and the intimate reminiscences of the soul alone were present; public politics assumed no place near the death-bed or the grave of the life they had occupied and ruled.

About the same time an incident, entirely personal, gave me the deepest pain. M. Royer-Collard, with whom, since 1830, I had lived on terms of the closest intimacy, wished and demanded for one of his relations a considerable advance in the higher department of

administration. I spoke of it repeatedly to my colleagues, who [redacted] such a [redacted] impossible. After several applications, I relaxed my urgency. I proposed to M. Royer-Collard compensations, which were unsatisfactory. Much as he disregarded power, [redacted] held strongly [redacted] influence. When once he expressed a desire, or undertook to serve a cause, success [redacted] with him a passionate necessity, and disappointment almost appeared [redacted] an offence. It is, besides, a difficult trial for men, and even the best men, to see increase without their co-operation, and in [redacted] independence, [redacted] reputations and fortunes they have [redacted] of and have long supported. I [redacted] discovered [redacted] M. Royer-Collard was deeply wounded by his check. We happened [redacted] be dining [redacted] the [redacted] company; I cannot recollect what circumstance brought to [redacted] lips the words of Bossuet, in his funeral oration on the Princess Palatine, on the "illusion of worldly friendships, which [redacted] away with years and interests:" he uttered them with an [redacted] of bitterness, while steadily regarding [redacted]. The injustice was great: but passion never believes that it is unjust. A few days after, M. Royer-Collard signified [redacted] me formally, in a few cutting and painful lines, his wish to break off our old ties of intimacy. I was more grieved than surprised at this: I was [redacted] acquainted with that ardently susceptible nature, in which neither the power of intellect nor the gravity of character, could [redacted] the strong predominance of impressions. I felt that I had done him [redacted] wrong, and I trusted to time to restore the empire of equity. I did [redacted] deceive myself. Truth

and friendship re-entered the soul of M. Royer-Collard before his death stepped in to separate us: but during several years, this rupture with an old and illustrious friend inflicted suffering on my heart, and sometimes on my position.

Notwithstanding the Chamber, we did not feel ourselves secure in the future; and, despite his modesty, Alphonse Mortier suffered under his political insignificance, which became daily more marked and more subject to the attacks of the opposition. On every occasion this renewed the feeling, he timidly expressed his honest displeasure. Some disputes had been committed in the Polytechnic School, which required coercive measures. The marshal called upon me, and asked me to take the great seminary into my department, as he no longer wished to retain the responsibility. Plausible reasons were wanting for this change of functions. The Polytechnic School is not exclusively military; elevated instruction is general, and the pupils are trained for important civil offices as well as for the scientific corps of the army. The advantage of strengthening literary and historical studies there, was admitted, we give more variety, flexibility, and expansion to minds. Nevertheless, I expressly declined the marshal's proposal. In the midst of our relaxed authority and manners, discipline is that celebrated and necessary condition of order and success. To that rigid system it principally owes the originality and permanence of its character; and what it might gain from the liberty of our schools, purely civil, could scarcely compensate for what it would lose.

counter a great risk of losing. The Duke of Treviso reluctantly abandoned a proposition which would, in one point at least, have released him from a responsibility he disturbed. He was unable to bear the weight much longer; and on the 20th of February, 1835, alleging for reason the state of his health, he tendered his resignation to the King, in terms so decided, that neither his Majesty, nor any of us, his colleagues, could expect him to recall it. Thus the cabinet again saw itself condemned to seek for a president.

I at once resolved to allow no longer a fiction in this post, any vain though brilliant appearance, and to exert all my efforts to place the Duke of Broglie there, the only one at that time amongst the supporters of the policy of resistance whose elevation could wound no self-respect; the only person also whom the Chambers and the public would be disposed to regard as a real head of the cabinet, and from whom might be expected a respectful firmness with the crown and an amicable dignity with his colleagues. I was ignorant of the obstacles I might encounter in this attempt, but I reckoned on surmounting them by tranquil perseverance and the empire of necessity.

The first of these obstacles was the King himself, or rather what was said of his disposition than what in fact was. King Louis-Philippe was deaf to reason, nor blind to the necessities of his position; but it is certain that he had conceived for the Duke de Broglie, as minister of Foreign Affairs, more esteem and confidence than personal regard. I have seldom met two

men more different, though animated by the same object, and labouring in the same work by opposite plans. On some particular point which I cannot recollect, a debate arose one day in the Council on the sense and bearing of the word *rights*. The Duke de Broglie advocated natural rights; King Louis-Philippe acknowledged none but legal rights. They might have argued indefinitely without ever coming to an understanding; but opposite were their points of departure and the turn of their minds. It is not that the Duke de Broglie is either an abstract theorist, or a disputatious temper. He comprehends to a point the practical exigencies of human dealings, and can adapt himself to them with extended and provident moderation; but he occupies himself too much with the general ideas applicable to the affairs of which he treats, and too little with the persons he has to act with. He carries into the examination of question, and the means of solving them, more skilful invention, and management than in his relations with men; and while strenuously applying himself to give to different interests the satisfactions they demand, he takes little trouble to please the various actors and to secure their ready adherence or co-operation. King Louis-Philippe, on the contrary, powerfully prepossessed with the difficulties or embarrassments of the moment, and ever anxious to escape from them, attached great importance to the daily impressions of the European diplomatists, and felt uneasy at the ill humour which the pride or distant foresight of the Duke de Broglie might impart to them. It was this which arose principally his disinclination to replace him, with the presidency of the

Council in the direction of Foreign Affairs, although he fully confided in the accordance of the general intentions and conduct of the duke with the policy of peace and order in Europe.

One circumstance in particular had recently aggravated his feeling on this point. Towards the end of 1833, M. de Talleyrand, then on leave in Paris, with the King the English Cabinet, much occupied with the affairs of the East and of Spain, was disposed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French government. The King, ardently convinced that the English alliance was the pledge of European peace, instantly adopted the idea, vehemently urged by the Duke de Broglie, pressed him to discuss it thoroughly with M. de Talleyrand, and to follow up the execution. Several conversations, sometimes of two and at others of three, took place on this subject between the King, the minister, and the ambassador. The Duke de Broglie was little disposed to believe either in the utility or necessity of such a combination. According to his idea, important as it was to live on friendly terms with England, and to have a perfect understanding with her at all times on the great interests of Europe, it was equally dangerous to ally ourselves to that power by a general and permanent tie, which might compromise her independence and required her own policy, without giving her, against the various interests of the European future, the security expected and promised. He also doubted much whether the English were seriously disposed to support the general principles spoken of. He saw, in all this, de

Talleyrand reported, momentary impressions and freedom of conversation, rather than real intentions and serious negotiations. That confused him in his mind, and M. de Talleyrand, while aggrandising the dispositions of the English cabinet, indisposed of himself to open a positive negotiation on this subject, and required the Duke de Broglie to profit by his personal intimacy with the English minister in Paris, Lord Granville, to enter on and bring the matter to the desired end. The Duke de Broglie formally declined the mode of proceeding, which would have transferred to him direct responsibility, a proposition the merit and success of which appeared to him equally questionable; but still persisting in his doubt, he instructed M. de Talleyrand, who was on the point of returning to London, to sound attentively the dispositions of the English cabinet, and to assure himself that they were really serious. There would thus have been an opportunity of considering what point would suit France to advance in that road; and as to the Duke de Broglie himself, without entering into any engagement, he did not officially reject the suggested combination, if it proved to be serious and well guaranteed. On the 15th of June M. de Talleyrand departed, arrived at Calais, and before embarking wrote to the Duke de Broglie to ask, on this prospect of an offensive and defensive alliance with England, for precise instructions. The Duke de Broglie hastened to reply that he had no other instructions to give him beyond what he had already said on the subject; and he sent him also a complete recapitulation of the conversations they

had held, ~~him~~ together or with the King, replacing thus before the eyes of the ambassador the objections with the doubts of the minister, and giving him full liberty to sound the chances of the proposition in London, without adding anything ~~that~~ implicated the future. M. de Talleyrand received this letter and kept it to himself; he neither raised the question nor took any new step in London, ~~and~~ the matter terminated there, confined to the vague ~~that~~ ~~the~~ empty conversations I have ~~now~~ referred to.

To-day, after the lapse of twenty-five years, I believe ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~idea~~ ~~of~~ Broglie ~~was~~ right. No one ~~more~~ more values ~~as~~ a good understanding between France and England than I do; no one honours more sincerely the English nation, or is more convinced that peace between the two states, and cordiality between the two governments are, for us, ~~the~~ true policy; ~~and~~ internal prosperity and influence in ~~the~~ world ~~are~~ equally ~~important~~ in preserving both. Every important rupture, every ~~war~~ with England, ~~even~~ though ~~it~~ might be acceptable to national passions, and attended at first with brilliant success, would become sooner or later a source of weakness to us, and would throw us out of the paths of great and true civilization. But that the good understanding ~~between~~ the two ~~governments~~ ~~and~~ governments may be efficacious and enduring, it should remain free; for neither the one nor the other should it become a chain, or establish any permanent fetter to ~~the~~ development of the natural distinctions of ~~the~~ position, character, and interests. They can ~~never~~ ought ~~to~~ unite ~~under~~ under particular circumstances, to ~~obtain~~ specific results; ~~and~~

all general assimilation in **the** policy, all binding **the** indefinite union, far from assuring mutual peace would lead to complications and quarrels. **This** was what the Duke de Broglie foresaw and **tried** to avoid, when he rejected the idea of a general offensive and **defensive** alliance. But King Louis-Philippe, too much governed by the desires or impressions of the moment, retained a baneful recollection of the opposition of his minister on this occasion; and M. de Talleyrand, who had only found in his proposition, a mistake, in place of the personal success **he** had promised himself, remained equally **unfriendly** with the Duke de Broglie, and more disposed to remove him from the ministry of Foreign Affairs than to recall him to it.

After the retirement of **Monsieur** Mortier, and in the failure of our first attempts to find a successor for him, we had all tendered to the King our resignations, and thus he had to seek, not only a president of the Council, but a new cabinet. He summoned Marshal Soult from Saint-Armand, General Sébastiani from London, **Monsieur** M. Dupin and Marshal Gérard, and attempted various combinations. None could be brought to bear. At one time the future premier declined the honour, not wishing **to** incur the chance of an overthrow; at another, after accepting office, he could find no colleagues, or none but such **as** were urged to **join** **the** honour with him. Marshal Soult, who desired nothing better than to succeed, knocked **at** **every** door, saying everywhere, "The doctrinaires have managed so well, that I am **the** only person possible;" and he found nothing possible. **His** judicious **and** **wise** divested of all per-

sonal prejudice, he was satisfied with his post in London, General Miscal said, "This is a pity; the doctrinaires have talent and courage, but they do not choose to let the King profit by them." I went the morning to see him; he spoke only of England, and of his intention of returning home immediately; however he was grieved to see the King in embarrassment. "He only wishes in form, and he is right," said he, "a strong and lasting combination." On quitting him I went to the Tuileries; I saw the King for several days, wishing neither to constrain him in his search after new ministers, nor to mix myself up with it; "Sébastieni is arrived," said I on seeing him. "I have seen him, Sire."—"And what did he say to you?"—"That he will only come for a few days, and will speedily return"—"Yes, yes, he will not stay long here;"—and then leaving Sébastiani abruptly, he observed; "Have I told you my last conversation with Dupin?"—"No, Sire."—"Well then, my thanks to you, I am always in difficulty, I saw Dupin; we talked over three or four combinations, all so good as they are, in fact, impossible; at last I said to him, make me a ministry, yourself; have you no one in your own circle to propose to me?"—"No, indeed," he replied; and then named three persons, Bignon, Teste, Etienne, adding; "we should never get on for three months with them."—"But, my friend Dupin, the best thing I can do then, is to keep them I have?"—"Why, yes, Sire," said he, "I believe there is nothing better, and I advise you to do so."

The King paused for a moment, and looking at me with a mixture of vexation and kindness, continued: — Marshal Soult will be here to-morrow, at dinner; we shall try to understand each other, and make a decision; I do not wish to repeat the adventure of November last; I will not have a patched-up phantom of a cabinet; I want a solid, serious arrangement, as you gentlemen-doctrinarians say; a cabinet to inspire confidence entirely by its talents and composition. I will try with Marshal Soult; if I fail, indeed I must submit to your yoke." "Ah, Sire! will your Majesty allow me to protest against that word? We tell the King frankly what appears to us good for his service; we cannot faithfully serve him contrary to our own ideas." "Well, well," concluded the King, with a smile, "when we disagree, and I am compelled to follow your advice, it comes pretty nearly to what I have said." I left him, convinced in my heart that he saw already in the Duke de Broglie his necessary successor, and had made up his mind to receive him.

The principal difficulty and longest hesitation lay elsewhere. It was M. Thiers in a struggle with the Duke de Broglie, a doctrinarian and my intimate friend, become minister of Foreign Affairs and president of the Council. Not that the political views and intentions of M. Thiers at that time differed from ours; on all great questions, internal or external, we had been, and continued to be of accord; but his personal position in the cabinet might be, or, above all, appear to be deteriorated. It was his disposition, and, I think, his propensity to be deceived more than once, that

confidence in his own strength, not to rely sufficiently on himself alone; and in his conduct, he was over-anxious to conciliate the political party in which he was cradled. By natural sense and intelligence he was a man of order and government, which seldom occurs in the ranks amongst which he had habitually lived. Hence results, between his position and inclination, between the traditions of his life and the instincts of his mind, a disunion, which has often led him into embarrassment and weakness. Had he possessed more just pride, more firmness in his own thought and will, he would, I believe, have better regulated his destiny, as well for himself as for his country; for he would have found more power in his independence than in the party, naturally revolutionary or wavering, to which he attached himself. In point of fact, he had no objection either to the person or policy of the Duke de Broglie; he was convinced, that in the cabinet thus modified, and precisely because the modification could not appear to be his work, his influence would be great, and loyally admitted; but it would look like a triumph of the doctrinaires; it would be said that the equilibrium in the various parts of the cabinet was destroyed, and his friends would assail him with their discontent. He hesitated, sometimes consenting, and at others objecting to the entry of the Duke de Broglie into the Council, and thus keeping in existence a combination becoming daily more essential, but which could not be formed, and no one wished to form, without his consent and co-operation.

The Chambers and the public began to be disturbed

by so much delay and uncertainty. A call of the house, in the Chamber of Deputies, announced and then adjourned, was the first of being renewed. On the 10th of March, 1835, I repaired to the Tuileries, where I had not been for several days, to consult the King how he was to be met. Marshal Soult was there. The King took me into the embrasure of a window, and said, while pointing him out to me, "The Marshal can do nothing, we must consult other parties." The conversation went on that point, but the following morning I received a note from the King desiring to see me without delay. "All the combinations we have tried have failed," he said to me; "we must bring things to a close: I require from you distinct and positive advice." "The King knows what I think of the position and of the means of rescue; but I can do nothing apart from my colleagues. I can give your Majesty no formal advice but in concert with them." "Very good; meanwhile, send the Duke de Broglie, and send him here, I wish to speak with him." I immediately called on the Duke, who went to the Tuileries. The King received him graciously, conversed in a friendly tone on the state of affairs, made no objection to any of his proposals, not even that the Council should meet, when we considered it desirable, without the royal presence. His resolution was taken. On the side of the crown there was no longer an obstacle to surmount.

Still the same were not sufficient. M. Thiers continued to hesitate; the Chamber of Deputies became more and more impatient; the majority which had constantly

supported the cabinet loudly proclaimed favourable to the return of the Duke de Broglie the method of fortifying it. An address to the King was talked of, to assure him of the persevering adherence of the Chamber, to the policy in vigour. The summonses, several times announced, were issued on the 11th of March. I took an important share in the debate. I myself supported and urged on by the favour of the Chamber the solution I desired. I relied upon it, while carefully maintaining the prerogative of the crown, to manifest the influence in bringing the crisis to an end. The members of the majority met in great number in the house of M. Fulchiron, one of themselves, and deputed seven of the party to signify to such of the ministers who were undecided on the proposed combination, their desire to see doubts at an end, and to assure them that the cabinet completed would receive their firm support. M. Thiers availed himself with a good grace of this opportunity of emerging from a hesitation which now embarrassed himself, and on the 12th of March the cabinet was constructed under the presidency of the Duke de Broglie, minister for Foreign Affairs. Marshal Maison replaced Marshal Mortier in the War Department; Admiral Rigny, who from the first moment of the crisis, and with the loyal disinterestedness, had declared himself ready to resign the Foreign Office in favour of the Duke de Broglie, remained in the Council as minister without a portfolio; and M. Duchâtel, Admiral Duperré, M. Humann, M. Persil, M. Thiers, and I, retained the departments we had filled.

These checks have been greatly complained of, and have given rise to one of the most popular objections against the parliamentary system. I am surprised at this: a melancholy spectacle is presented by the wavering skirmishings and interruptions of power, and by the usurpations of the legitimate and unlawful ambitions which dispute its possession. The public grow uneasy at these political interludes, and the ministers usually lose something in the revelations and agitations behind the scenes. To speak the truth, the appearance is more injurious than the mischief is real; neither the outcry of the opposition nor the alarm of the public convey a just estimate of the real inconveniences of such a crisis. When closely examined, it does not appear that the public are much impeded by it, and the individuals involved run less risk than the state. But a decisive answer is ready to the reproaches which these incidents of the parliamentary system give rise. Liberty and publicity are never more essential or salutary than when various pretenders aspire to the government of the country. It is, then, pre-eminently important that all intentions should reveal themselves, all combinations be attempted, and all transactions be accomplished, and that none succeed without submitting to the trial of discussion before the public, and open competition with its rivals. This trial, advantageous to the character of politicians, and to the country, is fatal to those who fail under it. It is just and useful that their weaknesses be known; others may learn from them lessons in dignity, con-

stancy in their ideas and conduct, and fidelity to their friends. It is thus that fitting leaders are found for great political parties: the country has to know the men who aspire to govern it, and can tell at once, when they appear on the scene, whether or not they are worthy of confidence. It is not ministerial crises alone that should be blamed by those who so vehemently condemn them; they would extend the same to liberal governments altogether, of which they form a natural and inevitable portion. Liberty has its objections, which must be endured to obtain its advantages; but, in this number, these ministerial crises are the most serious nor the most difficult to surmount.

As soon as the cabinet was completed, the debate re-commenced in the Chamber of Deputies, on the question of its dissolution and re-construction. During two days, Messrs. Mauguin, Garnier-Pagès, Sauzet, and Barrot, endeavoured to show that it should neither have dissolved nor re-formed as it had done. The anger of the opposition was extreme: it had hoped that the fluctuations of power, which had succeeded each other nearly a year, would effect a complete change, not only of persons, but of systems, and that the policy of concession would finally replace the policy of resistance. The real question was, whether the conspiracies and anarchical commotions of April, 1834, were to be punished by suppression, or whether power, having conquered the insurgents in the streets, would declare itself unable to try them according to the laws, and would itself re-open for them a scene of action in which to proclaim from all sides their ardour to renew the

combat. This was the point debated under the name of the amnesty. The opposition, in all its shades, believed itself on the point of a favourable decision, and then saw the Cabinet exactly re-formed, which for many years had sustained the policy of resistance, and looked upon it as its patriotic mission, to secure the triumph of order in law as in fact, by judicial measures as by victories of public force. When speaking at this time as president of the Council, the Duke of Broglie, with an air full of authority and candour, laid down clearly, on the one hand, the policy in which the cabinet was determined to persevere, and on the other, the truly constitutional character of the cabinet itself, and of the principles which it was re-organised. His language pleased the majority, in broad daylight gratifies those who seek their road; indecision ceased in the Chambers, in the government, and the ministry applied itself to work, confident in its parliamentary position and internal elements.

The first labours answered the hopes and the public expectation. Nearly all the important questions in suspense were settled. A bill, introduced to determine the debt owing to the United States of America, was passed and adopted; and in spite of diplomatic objections which for some time delayed its execution, the cause of disagreement and perhaps of rupture between the two nations entirely disappeared. There was the duties of the municipal authorities, and the responsibility of the ministers and agents of power, formed the subject of numerous debates. An act was promulgated which modified, in a sense favourable to

the progressive emancipation of the slaves, the criminal legislation of the colonies. Another act, so important for the material prosperity of our fields as the law on elementary education had proved itself for intellectual progress, the new cross-roads, were prepared, debated, adopted, and brought into regular operation in the following year. In June and July, 1834, M. Duchâtel had commenced important reforms in our commercial system. Two decrees,¹ issued in virtue of special powers accorded by the law of finance, and concerted between the French and two English commissioners (Lord Clarendon was one of the latter), abolished various prohibitions, and reduced the entrance duties on a great number of articles—iron, coal, wool, flax, &c. Corresponding reductions had been agreed to in England, and free trade was beginning to be seriously debated, and to advance progressively. A month later—in October, 1834—M. Duchâtel undertook a great commercial inquiry, to discover, by a close study of facts, what would be the consequences of a general removal of prohibitions, and on what conditions they might be abolished. This inquiry was held before the superior Council of Trade, and at the close of every sitting the depositions of the witnesses examined were published in the newspapers. Government was anxious to carry out its reforms, with the aid of time, of well established information, and under the eyes of a warned and enlightened public. The ministerial embarrassments which arose at the end of 1834 suspended the results of the inquiry; but in October, 1835, when

¹ Of the 2nd of June and 8th of July, 1834.

firmly established order allowed hopes and efforts for the future, M. Duchâtel, by a royal decree,¹ re-entered the path he had opened, and made new advances towards the free extension of our commercial relations, so prudently measured, that they were adopted almost without a murmur, even by the interests which had no share in them. Thus, while the conservative principle prevailed in policy, an intelligent activity reigned in administration, and the parliamentary labours of the cabinet did not prevent us from watching with solicitude over the current and material affairs of the state.

While we honestly exercised the constitutional system, the Court of Peers defended itself firmly against the enemies inveterately bent on its overthrow. I have many enemies, for, on the part of the vanquished insurgents, the prosecutions of April still the pretence for war,—war transported from the Court of Justice, loudly proclaimed, and systematically pursued by discharges of theories, declamations, and invectives, instead of volleys of musketry. I do not believe the judicial history of the world has ever presented a similar spectacle:—hundred and twenty-one accused criminals bearing themselves as masters of laws and the entire government, refusing absolutely to acknowledge any of their privileges, preserving silence when interrogated, speaking and vociferating when ordered to be silent, opposing personal violence to public force; imprecating, insulting, threatening, predicting their approaching victory, venting practical and justified anarchy in the name of the

¹ See the *Moniteur* of October, 1830.

republic, and indulging in the most extravagant licence to prolong and inflame the trial, in the hope of once more engendering civil war. And besides, by an inconsistency which would be strange, if anything could be strange in this chaos, these very accused, who proclaimed war against their judges, demanded from these same judges all the guarantees, forms, and punctilios of regular justice, and pretended to impose on the judges the power to which they refused to its rights.

At a distance from the court, and in the acts or nocturnal meetings of the party, the same policy was adopted; the same indifference reigned as to the nature and morality of means, provided they advanced the cause. It was thought desirable to disgust the national guards with the service in which they were employed at Luxembourg; an attempt was made to sign and circulate a protest; the attempt failed. Then a letter was addressed to the president of the Court of Peers, importing that several honourable national guards of the 9th legion had refused the duty. The imputed signers disavowed the letter; it was a forgery. A journal of the party, the *Reformer*, had been condemned; it published a letter which pretended to have received from the jury, declaring that he had only voted for guilty to escape from the prosecution with which he was threatened. The twelve jury-men who had given the verdict unanimously disavowed the pretended letter; that also was a forgery. A publication more extraordinary still, led to an incident which singularly embarrassed the trial. The *Tribune* and the *Reformer* published a letter addressed to the president by the committee for

their defence, exhorting them to persevere in their ardent resistance, and winding up with this insult on the Court of Peers: "The infamy of the judge forms the glory of the accused." On the proposition of the Duke of Montebello, the Court, greatly offended, ordered prosecutions to be entered against the authors of this letter, and the trial of the defendants was added to that of the insurgents. The names of two deputies, Messrs. Cormenin and Audry Puyraveau, figured amongst the signatures. The Court of Peers requested the Chamber of Deputies permission to prosecute them. M. de Cormenin declared that he had not signed: the declaration was made by nearly all the persons whose names were at the foot of the letter. It had been drawn up and signed without their consent, and in the hope that they would not repudiate it. An ironical surprise was expressed by the public. A violent debate sprang up in the heart of the party. Should they all acknowledge the letter if they had all signed it, should the truth be told? The last suggestion prevailed. Two members of the committee, Messrs. Trélat and Michel de Bourges, declared themselves the sole authors. None of the other pretended signers silently assumed the responsibility: these were singly prosecuted, and condemned with the editors of the two papers. But the falsehood, perpetrated with so much thoughtlessness, and so weakly abandoned, seriously injured the republic and their defenders with the public and with the Court; and the trial, for a more complicated by the incident, proceeded smoothly to its termination.

There is no state of ~~them~~ into which humanity can fall, so deplorable to contemplate — that of the human soul itself. The accused and their party presented this sad spectacle. Good and evil, truth and falsehood, justice and injustice, the useful and the pernicious, the possible ~~and~~ the impossible, ~~all~~ were mingled and confounded in their spirits, perturbed to frenzy, — perverted to crime; and what remained in them of ~~pure~~ noble, of sincere conviction ~~or~~ courage, seemed only ~~to~~ precipitate them into the abyss of anarchy — ~~when~~ they endeavoured ~~to~~ drag their country, in ~~the~~ ~~face~~ of ~~the~~ enfranchisement and regeneration.

The Court of ~~Paris~~ repeated in ~~the~~ difficult position ~~the~~ great examples of tranquil firmness and judicious moderation it ~~had~~ previously given. In 1830, during the trial of ~~the~~ ministers ~~of~~ Charles X., it had maintained justice ~~in~~ the accused against public passion; in 1835 ~~it~~ preserved public order against ~~the~~ fury of the criminals, by also remembering equity. Neither ~~the~~ length of ~~the~~ proceedings, ~~the~~ violence of ~~the~~ ~~scenes~~, ~~the~~ unexpected interruptions, ~~the~~ legal entanglements, nor ~~the~~ successive retirement of several of ~~the~~ members, wearied or excited, disturbed ~~the~~ calm deliberation; nothing checked it; it ~~was~~ resolved to be moderate and effective. One hundred ~~and~~ sixty-four ~~persons~~ attended ~~at~~ the first sitting; ~~one~~ hundred and eighteen were present at the last, and signed the definitive sentence. The trial had lasted nine months. The accused, ~~their~~ defenders, ~~and~~ their journals had incessantly spoken, protested, and declaimed as if in presence of the ~~people~~ — You want one hundred and sixty-four

heads; take them. Send to death the supporters of one hundred and fifty families of the people. I am dragged here by force; I am torn to pieces; I am massacred; here, stab my bosom! Strike, and kill me!" No sentence of death was pronounced; transportation was the heaviest penalty. The Court maintained the empire of the laws without employing their full strength, and defended the state against anarchical insurrection, without heeding the extravagances and threats of the insurgents.

In proportion as the trial had been tumultuous and stormy, so also was the triumph a signal one for the government. It was the victory of the laws after that of arms; neither force nor justice had been wanting to vindicate society. Nevertheless, obstacles and dangers continued or incessantly sprang up on the footsteps of power. The enemies, far from showing discouragement at their defeats, redoubled their inveteracy in their manœuvres; the violence of their journals remained without abatement; the prosecutions of the press, always numerous, generally eventuated in various and alternating results; to-day, condemnations; to-morrow, acquittals, equally calculated either to satisfy rebellious passions. The public evinced surprise at the victory of order which entailed more repose and security. A man of strong mind and indomitable courage, a known liberal, who by his name, his character and his position exercised commanding influence in the Chamber of Deputies of France, M. Henri Fonfrède, came to us from Bordeaux: "We remain on the same field of battle, where, in spite of our so painfully

won, obstacles and dangers are incessantly springing up again, and ~~the~~ the action of power at the ~~moment~~ when it should seem to manifest itself in full security and ~~firmness~~. People's minds are much disturbed at ~~this~~. I think I may say that the principal seed of the mis-
~~understanding~~ in the democratic ~~movement~~ is powerfully excited, and in the absence of clear and ~~fixed~~ principles in the bosom of our own party. Our electoral colleges themselves, in their governmental portion, which here ~~is~~ ~~there~~ ~~is~~ a great and evident majority, ~~are~~ so disunited, and abandoned to the ~~theoretical~~ ~~views~~ of the ~~the~~ newly-broached argument, that, with ~~the~~ ~~best~~ intentions in ~~the~~ world, they are capable, without suspecting it, of voting against their ~~own~~ political opinions, and of ~~the~~ contributing, ~~as~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ conciliation, always so desirable, of moderate and conscientious ideas, but to ~~a~~ inexplicable confusion of heterogeneous and opposing principles, which would ~~lead~~ from the men engaged in the work of social restoration the levers they require for effective action."

While the trial was in progress, we soon perceived that, although the war continued, the field of battle was changed. It was no longer ~~the~~ great public movements, ~~the~~ extensive plots, or ~~the~~ popular risings that our enemies looked for success; it was in the person of ~~the~~ King that they sought to strike and destroy the entire system. Assassination replaced revolt. Between ~~the~~ autumn of 1884 and the summer of 1885, ~~several~~ projected ~~revolutions~~ of this nature were ~~conceived~~ and defeated by the authorities; some conceived and followed up with profound obstinacy; ~~others~~ ~~conceived~~ of by ~~others~~

imaginations, and by the ~~the~~ ambition of celebrity, no matter at what cost, which great social disorders is sure to excite. We approached the annual fêtes of July; the King was to hold a grand review of the national guards on the Boulevards; ~~and~~ reports were circulated; revelations at once precise and ~~clear~~ ~~the~~ the administration; ~~political~~ symptoms, disjointed speeches, with, nevertheless, a strange coincidence, indicated a strong prepossession spread in all directions. M. de Nouvion has carefully ~~collected~~ recapitulated them in ~~the~~ terms: "Towards the approach of the 28th of July, several prominent journals published simultaneously a correspondence from Paris thus expressed: 'It is continually reported that Louis-Philippe will be assassinated, or that an attempt will be made to ~~murder~~ him on the review of the 28th. This rumour is undoubtedly intended to induce the national guards to assemble in great numbers, and protect him with their bayonets.' In the *Quotidian* of the 21st of July we read: 'The government still affects to envelop in the most profound mystery the pretended plot against the person of Louis-Philippe. Phantasmagoria! A conspiracy the secret of which lies in the formation of certain body-guards, for which the public are prepared by pretences of danger to the royal family.' On the 24th, the *Courier* said: 'L——— (King Leopold) has come to all his father-in-law for his receipts for political ~~murders~~. Enthusiasm declines at ~~the~~ There is at present in the prefecture of police a brigade appointed to conduct the monthly murders.' On the 26th, the ~~the~~ con-

tained these few lines: 'Yesterday the citizen-king was in Paris with his superb family, without being at all assassinated.' On the 28th, the day of the crime, the *Corsair* said, while alluding to the King's presence by the Place Vendôme: 'The sun laid on the eclipse of the Napoleon of Peace.' On the same day, the paper *Le Franc*, after giving an account of the proceedings of the morning before, called the *Festival of the Dead*, and told this horrible joke: 'Perhaps it is for the festival of the living that, by way of compensation, the spectacle of an interment is to be presented. We shall see this to-morrow, or the day after.' Abroad, the *Correspondent of Hamburg*, of the 25th of July, announced that a catastrophe was expected during the anniversary of the three days. A letter from Berlin of the 26th stated that the report was disseminated there. On the 28th, some young men, travelling in Switzerland, after having inscribed in the register of an inn the names of Louis-Philippe and his family, added these words, 'May they repose in peace!'"

In the midst of these rumours, the greater number of which were either ignored or little noticed at the time, and which, nevertheless, spread a general alarm through the air, we repaired on the 28th of July to the Tuileries, at the moment when the King was preparing to leave the palace for the review. The royal family were assembled. The Queen anxious and silent; Madame Adelaide visibly affected, and requiring to be reassured; the young princes rejoicing to hear that the

¹ History of the Reign of Louis-Philippe I., by Victor de Nouvion. Vol. III. pp. 501—502.

troops were superb and the national guards were magnificent. It was agreed that some of the ministers should accompany the King, and that they should go with the Queen to the hôtel of the Chancery in the Place Vendôme, to wait the return of his Majesty, who was to stop there to be present when the troops filed by. The King mounted his horse, and set out with his three sons, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Nemours, and the Prince of Joinville, four of his ministers, the Duke of Broglie, Marshal Maison, Admiral Rigny, and M. Thiers, Marshal Mortier and Lobau, and a magnificent staff. The rest of us, Admiral Duperré, M. Duchâtel, M. Humann, M. Persil, and I, proceeded to the Chancery. More than an hour passed on; news came of the review at every moment; we all congratulated each other on the order that prevailed, on the appearance of the army, on the excellent spirit of the national guard. Suddenly the Queen and Princesses arrived overwhelmed with terror and grief: at the moment when they quitted the Tuileries to repair to the Chancery, Colonel Boyer, one of the King's aides-de-camp, galloped up, bringing the news of the atrocious attempt which the King and his sons had escaped, but which had surrounded them with so many victims. A few minutes later twelve, on the boulevard of the Temple, the King was passing calmly along the ranks of the national guard, and in advance of his train; a burst of flame, from a window on the left, suddenly struck his eyes: "Joinville," said he to his son, who at that moment was the youngest person to him, "this wounds me;" and at the same instant a

storm of bullets enveloped the passage, killing or mortally wounding forty-one persons who surrounded him. The King paused for a moment, saw his sons erect on his side, looked upon the dying victims, and pointing with his finger to the Duke de Broglie, who had hastened to him, the rear of his horse pierced by a ball, "We must continue, my dear Duke," said he; "march on; march on." And, in fact, he proceeded with the review in the midst of the explosions of indignation and incessant acclamations of the national guard, the troops, and the populace.

The news had reached us at the Chancery at the same time that it arrived at the Tuileries; but the still obscure recital of the attempt, the uncertain reports already in circulation as to the number of victims, the prolonged absence of the King and his suite, maintained and redoubled our alarms; the drawing-rooms of the Chancery were filled with ladies, mothers, sisters, and daughters of those who accompanied the King; people ran from all sides to demand or bring news. Who was killed? who was wounded? what was going on at the continued review? The Duchess de Broglie arrived in search of her husband: the Queen threw herself into her arms with great difficulty stifling her sobs. The whole royal assemblage abandoned themselves to every description of terror, to every possible agony of the human heart, and none could yet tell what might be the measure of their grief.

The complete and accurate truth, cruel to some and consoling for others, was at length revealed. The review being over, the King arrived at the Chancery with

train. Around the royal group, thus united, the losses were enumerated, including the names of eighteen other families, some illustrious, some obscure; a marshal, generals, and national guards; some workmen, women, a young girl,—all struck down by the same blow, and a prey to the same desolation. After a short rest, the King, and the Princes his sons, remounted their horses at the gate of the Chancery; the battalions of the national guard and the regiments of the regular army filed before them, with those enthusiastic acclamations, mingled sympathy and anger, excited in masses of people by the spectacle of a great crime, a lamentable misfortune, and a terrible danger. The marching past having ended, all dispersed, princes and people; every one returned to his grief or his affairs. The Duke of Broglie, when undressing, a bullet fell from his neckcloth, which had lodged there, after having, without his perceiving it at the moment, and stained with blood the collar of his coat. The people flocked round the Tuileries, the scene of the attempt, the doors of those who were known to be wounded; and the same evening, the King, the Queen, the Duchess Adelaide, in a close carriage, and without escort, went to the widow of Marshal Mortier, the Duchess of Treviso, to tender her testimonies of sympathy which honour those who tender them more than they console the sufferers on whom they are bestowed.

The horror was universal and profound. The public were indignant and shocked. The crime had been arranged and perpetrated with atrocious

All classes, ranks, and ages had been stricken. Royal and popular were confounded together. The King displayed, in the moment of peril, the most imperturbable firmness, and the tenderest sensibility when he rejoined his family. No one possessed more simple and unassuming with his disposition to display it ostentatiously. Thousands of spectators witnessed and related all the terrible and touching of the event. Eight days after, on the 14th of August, fourteen coffins, borne on the number of funeral cars, preceded and followed by an immense train,—ministers, national guards, troops of the line, clergy, magistrates, learned associations, public schools, and representatives of society in every grade, passed along the boulevards, from the square of the Bastille to the Invalids, through a dense population, passionately moved and in profound silence. The King, the Queen, and all the royal family were present, and received the cortege of the Invalids. In presence of all divine and human grandeur, all these coffins, which a single crime had filled with victims, were lowered one by one into the same vault. The ceremony over, and when this nation of spectators had dispersed,—during the ensuing days, in the bosom of their families, in the public places, wherever men were encountered who had nothing to conceal, one unanimous sentiment displayed itself: a general cry had now become imperiously necessary to put an end to the attacks, provocations, and manœuvres which stirred up these crimes, and the dangers on society, such sufferings on the heart.

The cabinet hesitated for a moment in the execution of its duty. The real lay in the continued provocation, ultimately audacious and crafty, for the overthrow of established order. To this end, the conspirators arrogated the right of incessantly holding and replacing everything in question,—the very basis of society as well as the basis of the government, the primitive fundamental right of public authorities in common with their conduct. This was what was called the liberty of the human mind and the liberty of the press. It was necessary to attack and subdue this anarchical pretension in its principle, after having conquered it in its armed and material consequence,—insurrection.

We assailed the enemy in front. The laws introduced on the 4th of August, 1835, and which became laws on the 21st of September following, designated as an attempt against the safety of the state, every attack upon the principle and form of government established in 1830, if such attack tended to promote the overthrow or change of the government. These laws sanctioned and guaranteed the constitutional inviolability of the King, by punishing every one who should attribute to him the responsibility or blame of the acts of his government. They embraced defined precautions against the different modes of dissimulating these offences, and of eluding the penalty while in their actual commission. They regulated, according to the laws and general conditions laid down by the Charter, the punishments attached to the crimes, the tribunals competent to take cognizance of them, and the forms of prosecution, necessary to secure efficient and prompt repression.

In the estimation of all bold and resolute minds, the details of the law conformed entirely with the traditions of civilized countries and the rules of sound common law. It is a mockery to demand, in the name of free human intelligence, the right of perpetually questioning the fundamental institutions of the state, and of confounding the speculations of the philosopher with the strokes of war. In every human society there must be settled points, bases sheltered from all infringement; no principle can subsist in the air, open to every wind and blow. When God, in the Scripture says, "I will establish my world upon the disputes of men," he estimated the limits of their power; he knew how vain it would prove against his work, even though it might disturb the surface. But human law is infinitely weak and fragile when compared with the labours of Divinity. They require something which they cannot find in their own natural strength. And when a limit has been assigned between scientific discussion and political warfare, it becomes the duty of the legislator not to satisfy himself with vain defences, but to strengthen his assailants upon their ramparts. The laws of September for the suppression of political offences, the gravity of which they proclaimed, invented new unheard-of penalties rejected by established habits, a new jurisdiction which seemed predestined to rigour or servility. Transportation, in various conditions, from a short time, and will continue to be from day to day, more accepted as an appropriate punishment for political offences. The Court of Peers, for twenty years, had given proofs of its independence and moderation, joined to effective firm-

The modifications introduced into the forms of process had no other object than to secure prompt suppression of crime without taking from the accused parties any of their rights of defence. The Bills of Sessions had many of the features of angry exceptional acts; they sacrificed the essential securities of law while providing for the incidental and existing necessities of society; definitions, forms of trial, forms, and penalties were all combined in them, to render public justice fully powerful in its mission, while, at the same time, preserving its independence and impartiality.

The debate on these Bills introduced a striking instance of the lamentable weakness of mind and heart, which, under the influence of personal passions or external clamours, can confound and darken the simplest and most determined ideas. While speaking of the punishment of transportation, which the opposition called atrocious, I was led to say: "We continually forget in this debate the object of all punishment, of all legal punishment. The question is not only to punish and restrain the condemned; it extends especially to the prevention of similar crimes. We must not only render the criminal incapable of repeating his offence, but we must prevent others who might be led to commit the same outrages from yielding to the temptation. Preventive or general intimidation is the great and predominating object of penal laws. We must guard in this world between the intimidation of honest and dishonest people; between the sincerity of mischievous plotters and fathers of families; both the one and the

other must take care to respect society and its laws. There must be a deeply-impressed and permanent feeling of a superior power ~~was~~ capable of reaching ~~the~~ punishing offenders. In the interior of a family, in the ~~relation~~ of man with ~~the~~ God, there is naturally and necessarily, ~~law~~. He who dreads nothing will soon respect nothing. The moral ~~nature~~ of man requires to be regulated by an external power, as ~~the~~ physical nature, his blood and entire conformation must ~~be~~ be governed by the external air, the atmospheric pressure which weighs upon him. Produce a vacuum round ~~the~~ human body; you will instantly ~~see~~ the organisation disturbed and destroyed. It is so with ~~the~~ moral being; a constant, energetic, and formidable power ~~must~~ ~~control~~ over and control it; without which, ~~man~~ would surrender himself up ~~to~~ all ~~the~~ intemperance, madness, and egotism of passion." In this, there was surely ~~nothing~~ ~~more~~ than truth proclaimed by general good ~~and~~ and ~~at~~ all times acknowledged by publicists and moralists, as one of the fundamental bases of religious and civil legislation. The parties and their journals tortured it into a tyrannical ~~and~~ barbarous pretence. The word *intimidation* became ~~the~~ synonym of preventive iniquity and penal cruelty. They wrote and repeated this in conjunction with my name, as ~~the~~ terrible character of my policy. And as it ~~is~~ convenient ~~to~~ bring ~~about~~ ~~the~~ support of words, they invented ~~nothing~~ ~~to~~ show that what I said, I should also do if occasion offered. They ~~asserted~~ and reiterated ~~that~~ "during ~~the~~ insurrections ~~at~~ Lyons in 1831, and 1834, I had ~~given~~ the most pitiless orders ~~for~~ their suppression." The lie

flagrant. In 1831, I was in the Cabinet, and in 1834, by the nature of my avocations, I could have ordered whatever respect to Lyons, and I should have done so. But truth is unheeded by hostile passions; duplicity comes in of falsehood, and they forget that time must throw light upon their assertions; the advantage, and even more, the momentary pleasure they find in them, for their vulgar satisfaction.

The Duke de Broglie won great honour in this debate. He explained and defended the proposed laws with a frank determination, a lofty lucidity of language, which made a powerful impression on both Chambers. He gained, on this occasion, the most honourable and useful of all triumphs; he gave to the partisans of the policy of resistance the satisfaction of hearing it brilliantly demonstrated that they were in the right, and confirmed them in their own conviction by the fact that he himself was equally convinced. Notwithstanding the mischievous tendencies of human nature, men are gratified by esteeming while they admire, and parties are never more energetic or loyal than when they feel themselves honoured by the character and ability of their leaders.

The laws of September being voted and promulgated, the state of mind throughout the country, as regarded them, was very mixed and opposed. The opposition disputed them vehemently; some from radical hostility, routine, or party prejudice; others from sincere uneasiness. The more I reflect on this subject, the more I am convinced that the opposition of that day continually acted under a double

error; it dreaded the mischief too little and the remedies too much; it had an conviction of the perils which menaced society from the and evil passions which fermented in its bosom. It was far too ready to believe public liberty compromised, or even lost. Free nations require to themselves under strong constructions, particularly when they have long, their protracted endurance developed very different elements and very complicated positions. And their liberties are as much involved here their repose, for liberty, whose seeds may be sown by the breath of revolutions, take root or increase except in the bosom of order and under regular and permanent authorities. The firm establishment of the government was, in estimate, after 1830, and condition of liberty; and such was the situation and of that government that it could not inflict on liberty any serious risk. The opposition, I speak now of the loyal and unreserved opposition, mistook this general of the country; and natural, for it was that of a considerable portion of the country. It believed its political health to be more sound than it really was, and rejected useless and almost injurious the majority of the remedies proposed. Thus, while combating the laws of September, the parliamentary opposition wanted neither echo nor effect; and when encountered, beyond the Chambers, the same kind and nearly the same degree of discontent and they found them.

In return, the adhesion, not only of the declared friends of the policy of resistance, but of the impartial

spectators, prompt and decided. In the departments, the great majority of the general councils, elected by the most enlightened and independent classes, representing tranquilly the local sentiments and interests, hastened to express their satisfaction with the avowed firmness of the cabinet, the securities it had for public peace. It was readily admitted that these securities were neither oppressive nor vain. The hostile press lowered without ceasing free; the violences and scandals became more rare and restrained; but the discussion of the policy and acts of power remained open and animated. Judged by the test of experience, the laws of September, for several years, sufficiently protected public order, while most assuredly they did not destroy liberty.

Europe was struck by the spectacle which France at that time presented. The calm and presence of mind of the King, at the moment of the attempted assassination, were greatly admired. Much was said of the visible hand of Providence which protected him and the nation under the overwhelming danger. Thirteen years later, when the Government of the Bourbons ceased to exist, an old Tory of my acquaintance, an avowed legitimist, regarded France, Mr. Croker, said to me in London: "After the attempt of Fieschi, when I saw by what good fortune King Louis-Philippe had escaped, and the vigour with which the government protected threatened society, I believed, for the first time, that he was destined to found in France the constitutional system with his dynasty." Providence reserved its

time, ■ teach us ■ the lesson that many other conditions are wanting, beyond the courage and upright conduct of a few men, to put an end to revolutions and establish a government.

During ■ the four months which ■ passed on between ■ the promulgation of the laws of September and ■ the opening of ■ the session of 1836, the position of ■ the cabinet was strong and tranquil; no great event disturbed ■ no internal dissension occasioned embarrassment in ■ the regular labour of administration. The trial of Fieschi and ■ his accomplices, the winding up of the prosecutions of ■ the insurgents of April, ■ the negotiations relative ■ to carrying out the treaty of the 25 millions between France and the United States, ■ the diplomatic movements of Europe, the revolutionary crisis of Spain, ■ the preparation of the bills to be presented to the Chambers ■ the approaching session, fully occupied ■ without exciting any untoward complication for ■ the present, ■ any serious inquietude for the future. A single incident induced ■ to adopt a resolution, which for myself might lead ■ to a delicate responsibility. Marshal Clausel, ■ the time governor-general of Algeria, ■ preparing an expedition ■ to the interior of the province of Oran, and against ■ the Moudjahids. The Duke of Orleans anxiously desired to go to Africa, and take part in it. His wish encountered ■ objections in ■ the cabinet. ■ It was not considered desirable to expose the heir to the crown to serious dangers in an enterprise in an unknown land, and with ■ political necessity. ■ It was desired ■ that Marshal Clausel would feel satisfaction at the presence of ■ the Duke with the army, and ■ no misunderstanding

was apprehended between them. The King mentioned his son's wish: "A very natural one," he said, "and which, all things considered, it would well gratify: whatever may be the chances, my son must live with, and acquire credit in the army. Help me remove the obstacles he will encounter; recommend, in the council, his departure for Africa; he will feel greatly obliged, and I wish him to be friendly with you." The King was right; activity, a desire to serve his country, and to win distinction in so doing, form the duty and make the fortune of princes. I supported with my colleagues, in private and in the council, the proposal for the departure of the Duke of Orleans on the projected expedition. On the way he was to pass by Corsica, to pause there for several days, and to show attention to the affairs of that country, neglected, of the kind given to Europe. He left France in the month of October, and on the 1st of November following, the day of marching with the army on Mascara, he wrote to me from Oran:—

"I cannot, sir, say out for the expedition destined to complete my voyage, the embarking in which I thank you, without warmly thanking you for having taken an interest in my future career, so much so for appreciating the duty of my present position, which placed me, above all other considerations, to where the army has a task to perform. I am confident the result of my journey will in any manner cause you to regret your concurrence with my desire; and I know that in conducting myself so as to conciliate the interests of the army, I am equally bound to avoid anything that

might attach specious reproaches to the responsibility of the government.

"I have no time or place to specify in a letter written hurriedly, and at the moment of mounting my horse, the numerous observations I endeavoured to collect with impartiality on the state of our marine, on Corsica, and on Africa; but I cannot omit the opportunity of telling you that I can only congratulate myself, in every point, on the deportment of Marshal Bugeaud towards me. While I must endeavour not to allow my judgment I ought to form on the state of this country to be influenced by the reception I have met with, I am bound to acknowledge that important results, and which you know I was far from expecting, have been already accomplished by the marshal. He has extinguished all political dissension; he represents suitably, and enforces respect to the royal authority, while the spirit of party has ceased to exist in the population, hitherto the most accessible to it from its composition. The troops have resumed confidence in their chief and in themselves, and in a military point of view affairs are most satisfactory. As to the general direction of his command, I can affirm that the marshal has thoroughly understood what I wanted to obtain the support of the government; and he is prepared to carry it out, even in opposition to the colonists. I think also that he perceives the necessity of speedily diminishing the enormous charges which our African possessions so heavily inflict on France; and I have had an opportunity of discussing with him a plan of government for the regency of Algeria, which I anxiously desire to submit

to the approbation of the King and his ministers, on my return to Paris. I shall be at Toulon, by the latest, on the 18th or 19th of December; and until then, I entreat you, sir, to receive the full assurance of my sentiments towards you."

The expedition fully accomplished its end. Mascara was taken. The Duke of Orleans obtained great credit with the army and its leaders, for his intelligence, as prompt and brilliant as his courage; and on the 19th of December, as he had announced to me, he disembarked at Toulon, delighted in having so successfully taken his first step in military life, in Africa, and preserving a friendly remembrance of my interference for him on this occasion.

On the same day, at five in the evening, a funeral procession even more modest, almost that of a pauper, followed only by a brother, a sister, and a priest, passed through Paris, bearing to a village church near Bordeaux, the coffin of a very worthy man, a great citizen in the days of supreme danger, and a great name in public debate. The former president of the Chamber of Deputies, the minister Louis XVIII., M. Lainé, died in Paris, on the 17th of December, and it was his final wish that he should be carried without the slightest display to his resting-place. In 1830, during the Revolution of July, he held himself aloof, sincerely mourning, both from conviction and consistency, the ancient royalty he had served for sixteen years, if not with a clear and sound policy, at least with patriotism, moderation, and a sense of duty, which inspired him with

noble impulses of oratory. When he saw the new monarchy established and struggling with anarchy, he took his seat silently in the Chamber of Peers, and from that day until his death he unscrupulously discharged all his political duties, without issuing, for any other purpose, from the retreat to which he had devoted the remainder of his life. He had a highly exalted nature, easily moved, and melancholy, and whose instincts, greater than his ideas, carried him on with a touching mixture of moral simplicity and the pomp of rhetoric, to eloquent virtue. His mind had more originality or vigour, high aspirations rather than clear convictions, and his talent, which wanted precision in the base, and purity in its structure, prevented him from being invariably elevated, ardent, or sympathetic. I often thought and acted in opposition to him; but after 1830, I seldom met him; but both in my relations with him, and looking on his conduct and life from a distance, I ever entertained for him a sincere esteem, and I take pleasure now in recording a homage to his memory, which in 1830 I would willingly have paid to his grave.

The session began on the 29th of December, under favourable auspices; no violent or approaching storm threatened the country; no vital question pressed upon the government; confidence was reviving, public liberty displayed itself in the bosom of order, which we began to think was thoroughly re-established. "I hope," said the King, on opening the session, "that the Republic has arrived for France to reap the fruits of her prudence and courage. Enlightened by the past, let

■ profit by experience ■ dearly bought; ■ us apply ourselves ■ tranquillize ■ public mind, ■ improve ■ laws, and ■ protect by judicious ■ all the interests of a nation, which, after so many storms, ■ to the ■ world the salutary example of ■ noble moderation, ■ only pledge of permanent ■ The care of its repose, of its liberty, and greatness, is my ■ duty; ■ happiness ■ be my highest reward." Two days after, M. Dupin, re-elected president of ■ Chamber of Deputies, said, on taking possession of the chair: "If during the preceding sessions external agitation ■ sometimes carried its reaction within ■ walls, I have no doubt that the profound peace which reigns in the state will extend over us its salutary influence. The struggle ■ be entirely parliamentary; it ■ worthy of those concerned in it; ■ interests of the country will be nobly and freely debated; rivalries, should any arise, will only be inspired by anxiety for the public good; every one will wish to carry ■ to his home the sentiment of a duty generously accomplished."

On the 14th of January, 1836, M. Humann introduced to the Chamber of Deputies the financial bills. From the opening of his discourse, while ■ posing the necessities and ■ for the service of the year 1837, he represented ■ important, legitimate, and opportune, if not urgent, the measure which M. de ■ had attempted without ■ in 1824,—the paying off or reduction of the funds. The Chamber received his speech ■ marked favour, while we on the ministerial bench ■ ■ extreme sur-

prise. That in bad, such a measure was evidently too serious to be brought forward without the deliberate examination and formal consent of the cabinet. It had neither been debated on nor even considered; the step now taken was the will of the minister of Finance alone; neither the King nor the other members of the Council had approved or been told of it.

Many spectators at the time, and several historians since, have looked upon it as an utterly treacherously premeditated, a villainous intrigue, planned to divide, dis-joint, and overthrow the cabinet; an intrigue of which M. Humann would have been the credulous and involuntary instrument. This may be infused into policy more of the Machiavelian comedy than it really contained, although it had enough. M. Humann was neither an instrument nor a dupe. On his own part, he had no evil design against the cabinet, with whose general views he sincerely accorded; nor was he on any occasion in any manner whatever the blind implement of the designs of others. Deeply convinced of the legality and advantage of converting the funds, he had in 1824, supported M. de Villèle in the attempt. At a later period, either before or after his accession to the ministry, he several times advocated the same view; perhaps even in preparing the budget for 1837, he may have again named his plan to some of his colleagues, but he never proposed to the Council the formal adoption or approaching of it. He developed it in his exposition of motives, to increase his own satisfaction, and to establish the basis of a normal budget which he was most anxious to carry

through. His mind was at the same time comprehensive and blundering; he was obstinate and timid before contradiction, and persevering in his views, although confused in his manner of stating and supporting them. He was greatly bent on accomplishing during his ministry some important act, which might raise his credit. "What do you complain of?" said M. Royer-Collard, who was a little given to irony with his friends, "M. Guizot has the law on elementary instruction; M. Thiers has the completion of public monuments; M. Humann also wishes his own particular glory." In adopting, on the conversion of the funds, a vote officially positive and urgent, M. Humann said much more than he had ventured to say beforehand to the King and to his colleagues, but he had not deliberately resolved to commit them to all these and without their consent. He advanced to his object with a mixture of precipitation and embarrassment, but without any disloyal thought in reserve. He exhibited a degree of imprudence, both egotistical and cunning, but no direct intrigue, no complaisance with any intrigues that fermented round the cabinet.

In any point of view, such an act, and the position in which it placed the King and the cabinet, could not be endured; the personal dignity and the authority of the government were equally compromised. We explained ourselves clearly with M. Humann. He felt the bearing of what he had done, expressed his regret while persisting in his error, and then in his resignation. The Count d'Argout, governor of the

Bank, immediately succeeded him in the ministry of Finance.

The question raised by M. Humann, remained untouched by his retirement, and on this, the cabinet was compelled to take its resolution. We were apprised that interrogatories would be put on the subject, not by the opposition, but by some of our sincerest friends, M. Augustine Giraud; for the conversion of the funds had in our own ranks partisans as well as amongst our political adversaries. Our position was delicate. The King was strongly opposed to the measure, which he regarded as unjust in itself, contrary to public good faith, injurious to his government, and even, as he thought, illegal. The greater portion of us, on the contrary, looked upon it as legitimate in principle, and judicious to adopt as soon as convenient, but that the opportunity was not yet arrived and should be waited for. We resolved not to approach it, unless the Chamber made it the object of a specific proposition; and we declare, meanwhile, that the cabinet had decided, on the one hand, not to bring forward, during the current session, the conversion of the funds; and on the other, not to pledge itself to any positive engagement, or fixed day, as to the time when the measure should be proposed. This was the language used by the Duke of Broglie, when explaining, in the most friendly terms, our misunderstanding with M. Humann, the motives of his retirement, and the regret it had occasioned. Our much reserve was unacceptable to the parties impatient of the conversion of the funds; they pressed the cabinet, once, to adopt the measure in principle, and

declare the reason why it was considered inopportune, and to reserve the time when it would become suitable. They complained that the Duke de Broglie had not expressed himself with sufficient clearness. He repeated the limits and motives of his reserve, and using the same words he had employed to answer the interrogatory addressed to us, he in his turn asked the question, "Is it clear?" Nothing, in fact, could be more explicit than what he said, or more judicious and loyal than the conduct he adopted in the name of the cabinet. It is exactly in embarrassing and doubtful matters that it becomes the duty of men in power to say openly, what for the present they mean or do not do, and to reserve, for the future, their right of deliberating and deciding according to the necessities and conveniences of the time. The Duke de Broglie, in acting thus, exercised the only policy worthy of a serious government in the face of a free country. He did well foresee the disposition of the Chamber and the effect of his words, when he concluded his speech with this retort, a little dry and ironical, "Is it clear?" I have never known any man, who, in his relations with public assemblies or insulated individuals, was so scrupulously intent on acting rightly, and less anxious to please. The Chamber felt piqued at his attitude, and warmed and more in his desire to press on the cabinet strongly the conversion of the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ be, if not immediately carried out, at ~~the~~ resolved in principle, and fixed for an early epoch. Three formal propositions were submitted on this point, and the leading one, that of M. Gouin, received by the committees

of the Chamber, became on the 11th and 12th of February the subject of a formal debate.

Of the members of the cabinet, those who took a principal part in it were M. Thiers and M. Duchâtel. With the inventive and supple ~~correctness~~ of his mind, M. Thiers ~~raised~~ the question in all its features: in the name of the whole cabinet, he admitted, not only that the conversion of the ~~debt~~ was legal and profitable to the state, but that it ~~would~~ inevitably ~~come~~ in time. He ~~showed~~ how, if it were suddenly adopted, it would be unjust and oppressive; exposed the exaggerated estimate of the promised advantages, and the inconveniences that might result from them, if the ~~measures~~ were adopted in the midst of a position lately so stormy and scarcely re-established. His conclusion was a modest one: his arguments had been lucid: he confined himself to asking for an adjournment of the question. From considerations ~~which~~ exclusively financial, M. ~~Talleyrand~~ supported, both as to the end of the measure and the propriety of adjournment, the same policy. But, from very ~~different reasons~~ the Chamber was strongly prejudiced. Some members wished to establish, at once, and at any risk, the equilibrium of the budget. Others, with a ~~most~~ grudge against the capitalists and fundholders of Paris. A ~~great~~ ~~number~~ plans of finance, provincial jealousies, the suggestions of self-esteem, party intrigues, and personal animosities and ambitions, seconded the ~~work~~ of the opposition against the demands for adjournment. It was rejected by a majority of two, the cabinet, determined not to accept such a check, immediately ~~resigned~~ the resignation to the King.

Ten days [redacted] [redacted] vota, an absent deputy, and one of the [redacted] independent as well as [redacted] [redacted] judicious, M. Jouffroy, wrote [redacted] me from Pisa, where [redacted] illness still detained him :—"The *Journal des Débats*, which arrived yesterday, [redacted] acquainted [redacted] with the fine decision of [redacted] Chamber on [redacted] proposition of M. Gouin, and the retirement of the cabinet. I have not yet recovered [redacted] surprise produced by this strange event. To overthrow a cabinet which for three years [redacted] [redacted] the enemy, at [redacted] very moment when it [redacted] victorious, and when, thanks to its energy, the [redacted] of order [redacted] saved; to overthrow it after having marched with it in [redacted] [redacted] and shared its triumphs; [redacted] overthrow it on [redacted] question of finance, impracticable either [redacted] year [redacted] the next, because, [redacted] they say, it requires [redacted] months' reflection; to overthrow it, in fine, because it hesitated on a [redacted] [redacted] justice of which is doubtful;—here is [redacted] absurdity which [redacted] no name, and which reveals an absence of political understanding utterly incredible. I grieve for the Chamber, and for my country, under such [redacted] act. It astonishes [redacted] rational men here, and [redacted] to them inexplicable. It is not [redacted] however, for those who know [redacted] Chamber [redacted] well [redacted] I do; and I [redacted] here how and of what material the majority of one hundred and ninety-four against [redacted] hundred [redacted] ninety-two [redacted] formed. But precisely because I know this, I [redacted] conceive what advantage will be gained by [redacted] who have brought [redacted] [redacted] dissolution of [redacted] cabinet. Composed [redacted] [redacted] is, it seems doubtful whether this agglomeration will [redacted] together until the formation of a new one, and it [redacted] clear to me

and it will only serve to destroy again. The King cannot go to the bosom of the third party. The two oppositions will not support a ministry from their sources for many months. It must, therefore, be as it has already died, and abjure itself and conform to the new majority, by which it will always be suspected because it betrays them, and of which the retiring members of the old cabinet will always continue the leaders. Thus it will exist under the protection of, and by the grace of the vanquished, which will render it ridiculous. I can well understand such a situation; I would not submit to it at any price; and if the members of the fallen cabinet continue united, it cannot be long tenable. But what an unhappy accident for the country, with such questions open as the affair of the East, the civil war in Spain, and the dispute with the United States!"

M. Jouffroy, as I think, was entirely in the right, both in his judgment on the recent crisis, and in his anticipations of the future. If the members of the fallen cabinet, which, for more than three years, had exercised the same policy, and had yielded together while sustaining the same cause, had remained united after their defeat, as they had done in their days of power; if they had refused all separation in retirement as they had avoided all discord in ruling, they would assuredly have soon restored the continuity of their policy, and have advanced a great step towards the regular and complete establishment of representative administration. If the dispositions and resolutions required for such a mode of conduct were no longer to be found in several of the parties whose union was necessary,

and the hope of M. Jouffroy proved to be a dream which ~~has been~~ ~~was~~ ~~and~~ ~~slow~~ ~~in~~ falsify.

King Louis-Philippe was very capable of adopting a fixed idea, a permanent resolution, and of maintaining or resuming it according to the varying ~~circumstances~~ of events. He ~~has~~ sufficiently proved ~~this~~ by his ~~conduct~~ and ~~personal~~ attachment, in foreign matters, to the peace of Europe, and in internal affairs to legal order. If he had been equally convinced ~~that the~~ ~~old~~ union of the various shades of party which had constituted the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, and of ~~these~~ chief representatives, ~~was~~ necessary to the security of the throne and the ~~stability~~ of his government, he would have employed to preserve or re-establish that union, his constancy and ingenuity; and, in all probability, he would have succeeded. ~~But~~ the King had no ~~such~~ conviction. He ~~was~~ disposed to think that he alone ~~could~~ ~~insure~~ the influence of sound policy; and when a question arose as to the formation or fall of cabinets, he sometimes yielded to his personal inclinations, to his prejudices or conveniences of the moment, much ~~more~~ than he would have done, ~~if~~ he had kept constantly in view the necessity of holding assembled and acting round him the vital forces of his government. I have already ~~shown~~ how and for what reasons he regarded the Duke de Broglie with ~~more~~ ~~respect~~ and confidence than personal favour. When, on the question of the conversion of the funds, a ministerial crisis declared itself, various circumstances ~~influenced~~ ~~the~~ feeling, ~~on~~ the King's part. ~~Some~~ of the European diplomatists, amongst others, Prince

Metternich, and Baron Werther, Prussian minister at Paris, had had some trifling misunderstandings with the Duke de Broglie, which left on their minds a certain ill will against him. Prince Talleyrand, who, in his retirement, still preserved the habit of intimacy and influence with the King, had not forgotten his last quarrel with the Duke de Broglie, on the subject of the project of offensive alliance with England, and still cherished a degree of ill humour against him. From all these facts, there sprang up within the royal circle a daily language and impression not favourable to the duke. He was represented as often troublesome, sometimes compromising, and, in all cases, not indispensable. In March, 1835, the King was reluctantly induced to recall him to the department of Foreign Affairs. In February, 1836, he sent him leave it without regret.

M. Thiers, far from saying or doing anything which might estrange him from his colleagues in the cabinet—the occasion of the conversion of the rentes, as on all others, firmly supported their policy. He could neither be charged with concealed defection nor want of courage. He acted with equal utility and loyalty. Still, he preserved some dread of being intimately united with the doctrinaires, and took pains to keep himself from them. The return of the Duke de Broglie in 1835, as president of the Council, had left on his mind an impression of contrariety and uneasiness, which had some influence on his conduct while the cabinet remained firm, but which disposed him to consider himself, after our fall, as disengaged from all ties, and free to

follow his own destiny alone. He was tired of the ministry of the Interior, and he had concealed his wish for the department of Foreign Affairs. At court, in the diplomatic world, and in the drawing-rooms, the politicians hostile to the Duke de Broglie, observed the inclination of M. Thiers, and thus gratified their will towards the minister who displeased them by propitiating his favour of the Emperor. It would have required, on the part of M. Thiers, a profound conviction of the Emperor which united the cabinet of the 11th of October, and a strong resolution to maintain them against the various chances of fortune: this conviction and resolution were to be found in M. Thiers, and in the King himself.

Whatever might be the issue, the crisis was imminent. The King gave himself to work to form a Cabinet. He consulted successively for M. Humann, M. Molé, Marshal Gérard, M. Dupin, M. Passy, and M. Sauret. The three last formally declined the invitation. They thought several of the retired ministers necessary to the government, and did not feel themselves in a condition, either to retain them in a new cabinet, or to dispense with their co-operation. The three last, called together and made several repetitions at the Tuileries, declared themselves ready to serve the King and the country, but they declined to undertake, themselves, the formation of a ministry. They advised the King to commit the duty to the special charge of some political leader, who should become the president of the future cabinet, a part to which, as M. Dupin declared, they were of course pretended. The third party were well disposed to repeat the trial of the

ministry of three days. During these different interviews, the King eulogised the fallen cabinet, expressed the lively regret at his resignation, and seemed not much disposed to adopt M. Dupin and his friends as the successors of the late ministry.

But ■■■ round M. Thiers and in himself ■■■ real efforts were made to re-construct a cabinet. It was upon him the King reckoned to maintain the old policy by a ■■■ softening ■■■ appearances, and to elude, ■■■ least ■■■ adjourn the reduction of the funds, without refusing it ■■■ moment, ■■■ decidedly as it had been rejected by the Duke ■■■ Broglie. Some influential persons ■■■ court, many deputies of the third party, and ■■■ of the opposition, urged ■■■ Thiers to lend himself to this combination, and promised their support. M. de Talleyrand commended it loudly, in the diplomatic world and with the King, and with expressions, elegantly flattering, ■■■ raged M. Thiers ■■■ undertake it. M. Thiers hesitated; he ■■■ unwilling to separate from his old colleagues, and ■■■ adopt ■■■ policy different from theirs. He had experienced their loyalty and courage; he knew that, despite ■■■ clamours of party, they possessed consideration and influence in the country ■■■ in ■■■ Chambers, he could ■■■ foresee without uneasiness the disagreements that spring up and display themselves almost infallibly amongst men, when their functions become materially different. ■■■ made repeated efforts ■■■ induce M. Duchâtel to remain with him in the ■■■ cabinet; ■■■ ■■■ leave him the appointment of two ministers, and ■■■ propose to me ■■■ embassy in England. M. Duchâtel peremptorily refused. He would neither

accept for the policy which carried on an uncertain standard and allies, he separated himself from his intimate friends. M. Thiers at length decided, and the "Moniteur," of the 22nd of February, 1836, announced the formation of the new cabinet. M. Thiers presided over it as minister of Foreign Affairs; the members of the preceding cabinet, M. de La Fayette, M. de La Lozère, Admiral Duperré and Count d'Argout retained their seats; three deputies of the third party, M. de La Fayette, M. de La Lozère, and Sauzet, entered as ministers of Trade, Public Instruction, and Justice; the Count de Montalivet, invested with the particular confidence of the King, and who had lately sustained with much courage the policy of resistance, received the ministry of the Interior.

On the day after the formation of the new cabinet was completed, and at the moment when it appeared in the "Moniteur," I received the following letter from M. Thiers:—

"My dear Monsieur Guizot,—I have not time to tell you yesterday's definitive arrangement, for it was very late when I was at the Tuileries. Events have separated us; but I hope they will allow our sentiments to continue, which have sprung from many years passed together in the same perils. If it depends on me, much of our union will remain, for we have still many services to render to the common cause, although placed in opposite situations. I shall do my best to effect this. I intend to call on you as soon as the necessities of the moment are settled."

I answered without delay:

"My dear Friend,—You have every reason to believe in the duration of the sentiments which a long community of dangers and labours have inspired between us. I belong to the cause we have maintained together. I shall go wherever it calls me, and I reckon confidently on ever finding you there also. Adieu. I shall see you as soon as I think you can have a little leisure."

In every great human undertaking, there is one superior, dominant idea, which ought to be a fixed point, the guiding-star of those who are called to take a part in it. In 1832, through many limitations of position, relative ties, habits, and character, such an idea presided over the formation of the cabinet on the 11th of October. Actors, advisers, or spectators, all who participated in the event, felt, at the time, that the unity and common action of men already experienced in the labour of monarchical and liberal government were the imperious conditions of success. This sentiment surmounted all doubts and obstacles, and determined every conduct. A sentiment perfectly judicious and clear-sighted, for great enterprises and good causes have never miscarried but through the disunion of individuals and parties, who, at the bottom, entertained the same desires, and were devoted to the same object. This dominant idea, the great light of 1832, disappeared in 1836; and was extinguished by a most trifling agency, before a very secondary question, and through motives extremely trivial or personal. The conversion, which was so immediate, of the funds, was, assuredly, far below the value of the union of the persons who from 1830 had worked

together to maintain the government. This was the fault of the epoch. The Revolution of 1830 had already narrowly restricted the circle and broken the ranks of the effective advisers of royalty under the constitutional system. The ministerial crisis of 1830 severed the coalition, which, through the influence of a lofty and provident idea, the crisis of 1830 had bound together.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

Report to the King.

Paris, Oct. 18th, 1882.

SIR,

THE Government of July was called upon to understand, and has fully comprehended, the vast importance of elementary education. A powerful impulse has been given, and great results have been obtained. To secure and extend these, a particular institution appears to me indispensable. I mean a periodical publication, to collect and communicate all that may assist in the improvement of schools and the instruction of the people.

Very few elementary tutors, in the normal schools recently established, have acquired the secret of sound methods and principles in national education. Those who spring from these schools, require to be directed in their studies and their efforts. Without this guide, their zeal declines, and speedily a cheerless routine becomes their last resource. Thus ignorance establishes and propagates itself through the very organs intended to overthrow it; and the sacrifices made by the state, the departments, and the townships, produce no fruit.

Our new institutions, moreover, and particularly that of local committees, call to the superintendence of the schools, citizens totally unprepared by special studies for the accomplishment of this mission. It is a material sacrifice on their part, to take from their personal interests and affairs a certain portion of time for the charge confided to them. The authority which appoints them is, therefore, bound to supply specific instructions, so as to render the superintendence easier to themselves and really effective for the schools, of which it is the object.

To supply this want, general theories are far from being sufficient. There must be precise indications and repeated advice. On the subject of education, every day brings light a new book or a fresh method. The country may congratulate itself on this; but these inventions and experiments require to be appreciated with knowledge and independence. Valuable reports, full of facts and sound views, drawn up by the Committees, the Inspectors, the Rectors, the Mayors, and the Prefects, remain unknown to the public. The Government ought to charge itself with the knowledge and expansion of all good systems, with the encouragement of all favouring efforts, and with the attempt to improve them.

According to the present laws and institutions, one channel alone embraces sufficient action and power to secure this salutary influence: that channel is the Press.

I suggest, therefore, to your Majesty, to authorise, in principle, the publication of a periodical collection, for the use of elementary schools in every degree.

This collection should comprise:—1. The publication of all documents relating to popular instruction in France. 2. The publication of everything bearing upon elementary education in the principal countries of the world. 3. An analysis of works on elementary education. 4. Rules and directions calculated to advance the progress of such instruction in every part of the kingdom.

To secure all desirable guarantees, this publication should be intrusted to a high functionary of the University, under the direction of the Royal Council.

The important truth ought to be deeply impressed on this functionary,—that if institutions regulate the destiny of peoples, habits make national institutions; and that the firmest basis of social order, is the moral training of youth.

He will also understand that habits attach themselves to religious convictions, and that the action of conscience cannot be replaced by any other agency. The most flourishing and effective schools of the present day are to be found in Holland, in Germany, and in Scotland; and in all these countries religion is inseparably associated with elementary education, lending to the most powerful aid.

France, Sir, will not remain in rear of these examples. She will learn how to reconcile profound convictions with rapidly-advancing knowledge, and influential with It is the mission of national education to secure these brilliant results. The institution for which I have the honour to solicit the approbation of your Majesty, appears to me one of the most desirable methods of leading to their completion.

I am, with profound respect, Sir,
Your Majesty's most humble, obedient,
and most faithful servant and subject,
The Minister-Secretary of State for the
Department of Public Instruction,
GUZOT.

Approved: LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

No. II.

(Page 73.)

Circular addressed on the 18th of July, 1833, to all Elementary Tutors, when transmitting to them the Act of the 28th of June, 1833.

Paris, July 18th, 1833.

Sir,

I send you herewith the law of the 28th of June last, on elementary education; together with a statement of the reasons that led to its enactment, when, in obedience to the orders of the King, I had the honour of presenting it, on the 2nd of January, to the Chamber of Deputies.

This law is, in reality, the charter of elementary education; and for that reason I am anxious that ■ should directly reach the knowledge, and remain in the possession of every tutor. If you study it carefully, and reflect with attention on its provisions, as well as on the motives which develop its true spirit, you may be assured of thoroughly comprehending your duties and privileges, together with the new position assigned to you by our institutions.

Do not deceive yourself. Although the career of an elementary teacher may be unostentatious; although his life and labours may, for the most part, be consumed within the boundary of a single township,—those labours ■ society ■ large, and his profession participates in the importance of public duties. It is not for a particular district, or for any interest exclusively local, that the law desires every ■ acquire, ■ possible, ■ knowledge indispensable to social existence, without which, intelligence

languishes, and sometimes becomes brutified. The law is for the state at large, and for the public advantage; and because liberty can neither be assured nor regular, except with a people sufficiently enlightened to listen, under all circumstances, to the voice of reason. Universal elementary education will become henceforward a guarantee for order and social stability. As all the principles of our government are sound and rational, to develop intellect and propagate light, to confirm the empire and durability of our constitutional monarchy.

Convince yourself, therefore, of the importance of your mission; let its utility be ever present to your thoughts, in the unremitting labours it imposes on you. You will see that legislation and government are strenuously exerting themselves to ameliorate the condition and secure the future of the tutors. In the first place, the free exercise of their profession, throughout the entire kingdom, is guaranteed them, while the right of teaching can neither be refused nor withdrawn from those who show themselves capable and worthy of such a mission. Every township is bound, moreover, to open an asylum for elementary education. In every commercial school a master is promised. To every commercial tutor a fixed salary is appointed. A special and variable gratuity will increase this allowance. A mode of collection, conformable at the same time to your dignity and your interests, facilitates the recovery of this, without trenching, in other respects, on the liberty of private engagement. By the institution of savings' banks resources are provided for the old age of the masters. From their youth, dispensation from military service, proves to them the interest with which they are regarded by society. In the performance of their duties they are subject only to enlightened superiors. Their lives are sheltered from arbitrary power and persecution. Finally, the approbation of their legitimate superiors will encourage their

good conduct, and in some instances, even, a brilliant reward, which their modest ambition could never anticipate, may prove to them that the King's government watches over their services and knows how to honour them.

At the same time I am fully aware that the foresight of the law, and the resources yielded by power, can never render the simple profession of a country tutor as attractive as it is. Society is unable to repay to those who devote themselves to these duties, all the advantages they impart. They cannot make fortunes, and can scarcely win renown under the painful obligations they encounter. Destined to see their lives pass on in monotonous labours, occasionally exposed to injustice, ingratitude, and ignorance, they would often despond, and break down perhaps, if they did not derive strength and courage from other sources than the prospect of immediate and purely personal interests. A profound sentiment of the moral importance of their efforts, can alone sustain and animate them. The austere gratification of having served their fellow-men, and of secretly contributing to the public good, will constitute the noble salary that conscience only can bestow. It will be their glory to assume nothing beyond that obscure and pain-taking condition, to exhaust themselves in a scarcely valued by those who profit by them, to labour, in fact, for the advantage of man, and to expect their reward from God alone.

It is also manifest that wherever elementary education has prospered, a religious sentiment has been combined, in those who propagate it, with the taste for enlightenment and instruction. May you, sir, find in these hopes and in their convictions worthy of a sound intellect and a pure heart, an amount of satisfaction and constancy which, perhaps, renown and patriotism alone might fail to bestow.

Viewed in this light, the numerous and varied

fided to you will appear more easy and agreeable, and will
superior empire your mind. and to
and impress them on you. Henceforward, on becoming a district teacher, you belong to public instruction. The title you bear, conferred by the minister, is placed under his safeguard. The University claims you; superintending, it protects and admits you to a proportion of the privileges which render teaching a species of magistracy. But the new character with which you are invested authorizes me to fetter the engagements you contract on receiving
My right of interference is not limited to a recital the laws regulations you are scrupulously to observe; extends to establishing and maintaining the principles which ought to govern the moral conduct of the tutor, and the violation of which would compromise the very dignity of the body to which he may henceforward belong. It is not enough, in fact, to respect the text of the laws; alone would compel so much, for they revenge themselves on those who infringe them; but beyond and above this, it is necessary to prove by conduct that their moral value is understood, that the order they are instituted to maintain is voluntarily and sincerely acknowledged, and that even in default of legal enactment, conscience would supply a power as holy and coercive.

Your first duties, sir, are towards the children confided to your care. The tutor is called by the father of a family to a participation of his natural authority. It becomes him to exercise with the same vigilance, and almost with the same affection. Not only are the life and health of the child referred to his keeping, but the training of its heart and understanding almost entirely depend on him.

As regards teaching, properly so called, nothing will be wanting that can assist you. A normal school will supply you with and examples; special will transmit to you regularly useful instructions, and the Univer-

sity itself will maintain with you a constant correspondence. The King has warmly sanctioned the publication of a journal exclusively applicable to elementary education. I will take care that this *general manual* shall spread in all quarters, together with the official acts that concern you, a knowledge of the best systems, endeavours, and practical ideas that the schools require; a comparison of the results obtained in France and in foreign countries; and, in fine, a summary of all that can direct zeal, facilitate success, and encourage emulation.

But ■ the point of moral education, I must trust much to yourself. Nothing can supply your own natural inclination to do well. You are aware that herein, beyond all doubt, lies the most important and difficult part of your mission. You must feel that in confiding to you a child, every family calls upon you to make him an honest man, while the state expects a useful citizen. You know that virtues do not always accompany knowledge, and that the lessons imprinted on the infant understanding may become pernicious if addressed to intelligence alone. Let the tutor therefore have no fear of interfering with family rights, by bestowing his first cares on the internal culture of the minds of his pupils. He must be equally cautious not to open his school to the spirit of sect or party, or to instil into the scholars any religious or political doctrines which may place them, as it were, in opposition to the authority of domestic councils; he should therefore rise beyond the passing quarrels which disturb society, to apply himself incessantly to the propagation and ■ of those imperishable principles of morality and reason without which universal order is imperilled; and to the deep implanting into young hearts of those seeds of virtue and honour, which age and passion cannot afterwards ■ Faith in Providence, the sanctity of duty, submission to paternal authority, respect to the laws, to the sovereign, and to the common rights of all;—such are the

sentiments the teacher must labour to develop. Never let him, either by conversation or example incur the risk of undermining in his pupils the feeling of veneration for worth, never by expressions of hatred or revenge let him incline them to those blind prejudices which create national enemies in the bosom of the nation itself. The peace and concord he will maintain in his school, ought if possible, to prepare the tranquillity and union of future generations.

The relations between the teacher and the parents ought to be frequent, and cordial. If he does not possess the good will of the families, his authority over the children will be compromised, and the fruit of his lessons lost. He cannot therefore be too prudent and careful in these communications. An intimacy lightly formed might endanger his independence, and sometimes even involve him in those local discussions which so frequently embarrass small communities. While listening complacently to the reasonable demands of relatives, he must take care not to sacrifice his principles of education and the discipline of his school to their capricious desires. A school should represent the asylum of equality, or, to speak correctly, of justice.

The duties of the teacher towards constituted authority are clearer and not less important. He is himself an authority in his township. How then could he set an example of insubordination? How could he do otherwise than respect the municipal magistrates, the religious directors, the legal powers who maintain public security? What a future would he prepare for the population in the midst of which he lives, if by his ill conduct or mischievous conversation, he were to ferment amongst his pupils that disposition to find fault with and condemn everything, which may hereafter ripen into an instrument of immorality and anarchy!

The Mayor is the chief of the township, the head of local superintendence. It is therefore the pressing duty as well as the interest of the teacher to treat him on all occasions with

the ~~minister of religion~~ is entitled. The parish priest and pastor also demand respect, for their ministry involves the most elevated feelings of human nature. If it should so happen that the minister of religion, by some fatality, were to withhold just cordiality from the teacher, the latter assuredly is not called upon to humiliate himself to regain his good opinion, but he should endeavour with increased assiduity to merit ~~it~~ by his conduct, and wait confidently for the result. Let the success of his school disarm unjust prejudices, let his own prudence remove every pretext for intolerance. Hypocrisy is to be avoided ~~as~~ much as impiety. Nothing can be more desirable than a perfect understanding between ~~the~~ clergyman and the schoolmaster; both are invested with moral authority, and can act in concert to exercise over youth, a common influence through different means. Such co-operation well deserves mutual sacrifices for its accomplishment; ~~I~~ I expect from your acquirements ~~the~~ wisdom every honourable effort to realise this result, without which our ~~work~~ for popular instruction would too often prove ~~unavailing~~ availing.

In conclusion, I have no occasion to dwell on your relations with the special authorities which watch over the schools, and with the University itself. You will obtain from them general advice, ~~all~~ necessary directions, and frequently a support against local difficulties and incidental enmity. The administration has no other interests than those of elementary education, which are, in fact, your own. It only requires of you to understand thoroughly and progressively the spirit of your mission. While, on its part, it will carefully protect your rights, your interests, and your future, do you, in turn, maintain by unremitting vigilance the dignity of your position. Do not disorder it by unseasonable speculations, or by employments incompatible with instruction. Keep your eyes fixed on every possible method of improving the instruction you disperse around you. Assistance will not

be wanting. In the greater number of large towns, advanced classes are opened; in the normal schools, places are reserved for such tutors as may feel desirous of going there to improve their teaching. Every day it becomes easier for you to obtain, at a trifling cost, a library sufficient for your requirements. Finally, in some districts and cantons, conferences have already been established between the teachers. By these means, they can unite their common experience and encourage each other by mutual aid.

At the moment when, under the auspices of a new legislation, you are about to enter on a new career, when elementary education is destined to become the object of the most extensive practical experience that has ever yet been attempted in our country, I have felt it my duty to lay before you the principles which govern the administration of public instruction, and the hopes founded on your exertions. I rely on your utmost endeavours to insure the success of our common undertaking. Confide ever in the protection of government, in its constant and active efforts for the precious interests committed to your charge. The universality of elementary education is, in its estimate, one of the most urgent and leading consequences of our Charter, which we ardently long to realise. On this question, as on every other, France will always find a perfect accordance between the spirit of the Charter and the wishes of the King.

Receive, sir, the assurance of my high consideration,

&c.

&c.

No. III.

(Page 75.)

Circular addressed on the 13th of August, 1835, by M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction, to the Inspectors of Elementary Schools, instituted by a decree of the King, of the 26th of February, 1835.

Mr. Inspector,

The King, by his decree of the 26th of February last, has summarily arranged the duties that are confided to you; and the Royal Council of Public Instruction, by a statute of the 27th of the same month, to which I have given my approbation, has regulated in a more explicit manner the exercise of those functions.

The Rector of the academy to which you belong, is instructed to communicate to you these two acts, which will form your fundamental rule. But at the moment of your entering on office, I find it necessary to explain to you precisely, and in its entire extent, the mission with which you are intrusted and the full amount of what I expect from your efforts.

The law of the 28th of June, 1833, has nominated the authorities called on to co-operate in its execution. All these authorities, the Rectors, the Prefects, and the Committees, have received from me detailed instructions which have regulated their progress. I have to congratulate myself on their cordial spirit and zeal, and important results have already proved the efficacy of their labours. Nevertheless, at the moment of the promulgation of the law, all enlightened

minds have foreseen that the action of these different authorities would be insufficient to attain the proposed end. The propagation and superintendence of elementary education is a task once extremely extensive, and loaded with infinity of minute details. It becomes, therefore, to act and look narrowly in every direction. Neither the Rectors, nor the Prefects, nor the Committees can thoroughly accomplish such a work.

Placed at the head of a very expanded circumscription, the Rectors would be unable to give to the numerous elementary schools included therein, the special and precise attention they require; they could not pay frequent visits to the schools, enter unexpectedly into those of the rural districts as well as of the towns, and rekindle amongst them, by their presence, regularity and life. They are compelled to limit themselves to general instructions, and to a distant correspondence. They administer elementary education, but are quite incapable of verifying its actual effect.

Secondary education, a great establishment connected with it, form moreover, an essential object of their attention. This is the almost inevitable result of the nature of their personal studies, and of the general system of public instruction for which they were originally appointed. Their authority and superior inspection are indispensable to elementary education; but they cannot be called upon or expected to devote themselves exclusively to that branch.

As regards the Prefects, they have already rendered, and are constantly required to render, the most important services to elementary education, which connects itself closely with public administration, and assumes a place in the budget of every township. It has, in fact, in each department, its particular budget, presented by the Prefect every year to the general council, and adds very frequently to the public labours included in the aggregate of administration. The active and willing co-operation of the Prefects is therefore

essential, not only to the first institution, but to the permanent prosperity of the schools. But, at the same time, it is evident that the Prefects, occupied more immediately with the cares of general administration, and unacquainted with the special studies required by elementary education, are not in a condition to direct it.

The intervention of Committees in the schools is more direct and ~~more~~. They bear materially, whenever they are inclined to exert influence, on their steady maintenance and prosperity. But they, too, cannot be expected to accomplish all that is required. Called together only at distant intervals, to devote themselves to labours beyond the circle of their daily avocations, the distinguished individuals of whom they are partly composed can scarcely be expected to carry into the superintendence of elementary education, the constant and regulated activity which belongs exclusively to permanent administration; or the intimate knowledge of the subject ~~which~~ ~~can~~ only be acquired by studying it specially and as a profession. If the Committees were abolished, or if they neglected to fulfil the duties assigned to them by the law, elementary education would suffer much in consequence; for it would remain too much estranged from all communion with the leading persons of each locality; or rather, from the public, whose influence would cease to penetrate sufficiently into the schools: but it would be a grievous error to suppose that this influence is all that is required. Elementary education demands the action of a special authority, appointed by the state, to watch over its prosperity.

The law of the 28th of June has only been in operation for two years, and already experience has demonstrated the truth of the considerations to which I am now directing your ~~attention~~. Rectors, Prefects, and Committees have all contributed to the application of the law, not only active good will, and the interest we have ever a right to expect from them; but, in addition, the ardour which naturally attaches itself

to every great and new improvement sanctioned by the public. At the same time, the more closely I have followed and watched their action and its results, the more I have satisfied myself that it is far from being sufficient, and that it would be deceiving ourselves with appearances to believe that with these means alone we can effect, I will not say all the good that is possible, but even what is absolutely necessary.

I have perceived also, and all enlightened administrators are impressed with the same conviction, that in spite of their equal good will, and their anxiety to act in harmony, the co-operation of these different authorities, in the direction of elementary education, may sometimes give rise to injurious hesitation and collision; that a permanent tie is wanting between them, a prompt and easy method of conferring reciprocal information, of connecting and carrying out, each in his own sphere, his peculiar functions, while leading all to converge without loss of time or labour to the common end.

To fill these gaps, to accomplish for the interest of elementary education what none of these different authorities engaged in the object can effect, to supply a link connecting these authorities together, to facilitate their mutual relations, and to prevent any clashing of duties with the consequent inactivity and embarrassment;—such, Mr. Inspector, is the true character of your proposed mission. Other powers will operate simultaneously with yours, in the department confided to you. Yours alone is special and entirely appropriated to a single function. The Rector, the Prefect, and the members of Committees are occupied, for the most part, with other ——— You alone, in the department, are the representative of elementary education; you have no other concern, and its prosperity will constitute your glory. It is enough to say, that you belong to it entirely, and that you are bound to make yourself acquainted with everything in which the question is interested.

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Your first obligation, therefore, will be, to render on all occasions, to the **instructors** who **take** part in elementary education, the most devoted aid. Whatever may be the labours in which you can second them, hold them ever in honour, and promote them with the same zeal that characterizes the performance of your more immediate duties. I cannot here enumerate in advance all these labours, and after the general recommendation I now address to you, I trust that such a detail would be unnecessary. Nevertheless, I **am** bound to indicate some of the objects, upon which I specially invite you to place your zeal and exertions **at** the disposal of the Rectors, Prefects, and Committees.

On the 81st of July, 1834, I announced to the Prefects that the Inspectors of elementary schools would co-operate in preparing the tables relative to the expenses of the communal establishments,—tables hitherto drawn up by the united care of these magistrates and the Rectors. On the 20th of April last, I communicated the same information to the Rectors.

The researches imposed on the bureaux of Prefecture, with this object, often absorb the time belonging to other affairs of equal urgency, and this complication may prove injurious to the correctness of the work. On the other hand, the staff of the bureaux of the academies is too limited to enable the Rectors to take charge of the portion of these tables assigned to them. You are better able than anyone else to draw up these returns, which henceforth will be included in your avocations. The register of the list of tutors which you are to keep, the appointments, dismissals, and recent changes, of which full knowledge will be transmitted to you; your inspections, the examination of the resolutions of municipal councils, as well as of the commercial budgets **transmitted** from the bureaux of Prefecture, will supply you with the necessary elements to arrange correctly this table, the outlines of which will be thus transmitted to you, and will make

you acquainted with the names of the tutors in actual office on the 1st of January in each year, with their salaries, with the expenses of hiring school-houses, of allowance of lodgings to the teachers; finally, with the amount of the communal and departmental funds, and of the sums assigned by the state for the payment of these expenses.

You will submit this table to the verification of the Prefect, who will be instructed to forward it to me within the first fifteen days of the month of January.

You will follow the same course with respect to the changes that may occur within each quarter amongst the teachers. This list will be drawn up by you and remitted to the Prefect, who will forward it to me within fifteen days after the expiration of the quarter referred to.

You will cause to be sent to you the budgets of expense of the district committees, and of the boards of elementary education, and you will transmit them, with your own observations, to the Rectors.

The service of elementary education requires a certain number of printed papers, distributed in small quantities through the departments. To diminish the expenses, which would fall on each department if the Prefects were obliged to prepare these documents, I have decided that they shall be furnished to every district from the royal printing-office, to be repaid from the funds voted by the general council. These papers will be furnished to the Inspectors, who will see that they are forwarded to the proper quarters.

A regulation, touching the accounts of the expenses of elementary education, in which the part assigned in this labour to the Inspectors of schools will be distinctly settled, will be forwarded without delay to the Rectors and Prefects.¹

A Statute I am now preparing will regulate in like

¹ The service of the accounts belonging to elementary education is at this moment settled by the Circular of the 31st of July, 1834.

manner the duties of the Inspectors of elementary schools with regard to the savings' banks about to be established.¹

I come now to your personal duties, in which you will be upon, equally, co-operate with other authorities, and to act by yourself and alone, under the direction of Rector and Prefect. Your first care must be, as prescribed by Article 1 of the Statute of the 27th of February, to prepare every year a table of the schools in your jurisdiction, each of which must form the object of a special visit. It would be a complete misunderstanding of the intent of this arrangement, to seek therein merely an excuse for negligence, or a permission to select from amongst the schools submitted to your inspection, those which promise the readiest success and the least fatigue. Be careful not to imagine that it will suffice for you to visit the most important establishments, such as the schools of the head towns of the district or canton. In principle, every school in the department has a right to your annual visit; but that visit ought not to reduce itself to a mere formality, a rapid and profitless glance. Article 1 of the Statute has provided for the contingency, unhappily too frequent, under which the extent of your jurisdiction might render it impossible for you to complete an annual inspection, personally and deliberately of every school. In the selection that you may be compelled to make, undoubtedly the town schools will find their place; but I do not hesitate specially to direct your solicitude to the country seminaries. Placed in the midst of a more active population, nearer to the committees that govern them, under the conduct of more experienced masters, encouraged and animated by competition, the town schools find in their position alone effectual sources of prosperity. It will be easy for you, incidentally, when other lead you to the places in which they are situated. But the

¹ See Article 15 of the Act, page 301.

establishments which above all others ought to be the objects of your persevering and systematically organized superintendence, are the schools which the law of the 28th of June has given birth to in the rural districts, far from the resources of civilization, and under the guidance of less practised masters. ■ these, above all others, your visits are essential, and will be really advantageous. When they see that neither distance, nor inclement seasons, nor bad roads, nor the obscurity of their names, deter you from interesting yourself warmly in that population, and that you bring them the benefit of the instruction in which they are deficient,—naturally industrious, temperate, and rational, they ■ conceive towards you a true sentiment of gratitude, they will of themselves attach much importance to your labours, and will hasten to contribute, for the advancement of rural schools, their modest but sincere assistance.

In preparing the table of the schools that you will have to visit specially, you ■ be careful to consult beforehand with the Rector and the Prefect, to the end that none which may ■ to them to merit particular attention, may be omitted from the list. You will consult each year the report of your preceding inspection ; and for the next ensuing, which will recommence your labours, I will take care that the Rector of the academy shall remit to you the report of the inspectors, extraordinarily appointed, in 1833, to visit the schools of your department. You will find in the bureaux of the Prefecture the states which the committees were ordered to draw up on the situation of the elementary schools in ■ You will study carefully the observations contained in these various labours, and according to the condition of the schools ■ that epoch, it will be easy for you to distinguish those which require ■ present your earliest visit. ■ reports of the committees transmitted by you to the Rector, and of which you have also previously informed yourself, will assist in fixing your determination. Finally,

Article ■ of the Decree of the 16th of July, 1833, having instructed me to prepare every year a state of the townships that have no school-houses, and also of those which have them not in sufficient number, or in convenient localities,—this state was drawn ■ at the commencement of 1834 by the care ■ the district committees, and is deposited ■ the Prefecture. You will take care to acquaint yourself with ■ before your departure, that you may be able to prepare with greater accuracy a similar state for 1835, according to the series of questions, and the model I shall send to you, with that object. You will also deposit, in the Prefecture, after your inspection, the result of your local visits, and the information you have collected from the committees.

To combine all the elements that the drawing up of this state will require, you will find it necessary to visit all the townships of your department, even those where there are at present no teachers; you will place them in your itinerary, in such manner as you may consider most convenient, to enable you to estimate promptly the position of affairs in this respect, and to insure the execution of the law.

With regard to the time when your inspection should take place, I cannot prescribe to you, in that particular, ■ precise or general rule. Undoubtedly it would be desirable that every period of the year should show the schools to the Inspector equally filled, and that they should only be abandoned during the vacations arranged by the statutes. ■ is the spirit of the law, and the right belonging to the townships which secure an annual salary to the teacher, and you cannot too strongly exercise your influence, on this point, in contesting the injurious habits of families. But before they have finally opened their eyes to their true interests, and for a long time in the country, the recurrence of rustic labour will draw ■ the children from their school tasks; and here, perhaps, there arises a difficulty from the very position of the working classes which we can scarcely hope to sur-

mount entirely. Be this as it may, in the existing position of affairs, autumn and winter are the true seasons for the schools, and you will scarcely make profitable visits during the spring, and more particularly during the summer, except to the urban establishments, which are less exposed than the others to these vexatious emigrations.

Neither would it be suitable to select for the epoch of your departure the exact moment when the cessation of rustic toil gives the children the first signal for returning to their schools. To estimate correctly the teaching of the masters and the progress of the pupils, you must wait until some weeks of regular practice has enabled the tutor to bring his system once more into play, and to awaken in the children the aptitude and intellectual pliability which are so easily blunted by six months of rude and coarse labour.

As far as it is possible to determine beforehand, and in a general manner, as a limit, of course subject to so many particular circumstances, I am inclined to think that for the rural schools, the ordinary duties of your inspection should commence towards the middle of the month of November. With respect to the town schools, it will be much more easy for you to select, during the course of the year, the convenient moment for your visit. For the rest, I refer you on this point to the information you will yourself collect in your department, and to the advice you will receive from the different authorities.

When you have thus arranged the table of the schools that are to be included in your annual visit, and fixed the period of your departure, when you have received from the Rector and the Prefect particular instructions on the questions which their ordinary correspondence may not have sufficiently elucidated; when your proposed itinerary has received their approbation, you will then apprise the committees, whom you will also endeavour to keep informed as to the general ideas by which the superior administration is

It is most particularly on this point that the local committees are apt to deceive themselves. The very desire for improvement sometimes leads them astray. Living within a restricted horizon, and unable to draw comparisons, they suffer themselves to be readily misled by assurances of progress emanating from frivolous charlatanry, and thus fall into attempts at unhappy innovations. It is by making the committees thoroughly understand the views of administration that you will fortify them against this danger, without offending local circumstances, you will maintain in the system of elementary education the unity and regularity which constitute its strength.

You will almost invariably encounter in every committee one or two members more sedulously occupied with the schools than the rest, and animated by an exclusive zeal. There is scarcely a small town, or a population slightly condensed, in which you will not find men of this stamp; but they often become discouraged, either from the coldness of their associates, or the indifference of the higher authorities. Seek carefully for such men, honour their zeal, request them to accompany you to the schools, neglect nothing to convince them of the gratitude felt towards them by the government. It would be a grievous error not to conciliate and draw round us in every locality persons so well disposed, active, and disinterested. Nothing can fill the place of the movement they excite about them, and the strength they contribute to administration when properly encouraged and supported.

Independently of the committees, in every township you visit you will have to deal with the civil and religious authorities who intervene in the schools; with the mayors, the municipal councils, the parish priests and the pastors. Your good relations with all these parties are of the utmost importance to the advance of elementary instruction. Do not hesitate to enter into long conversations with them on

the condition and interests of the township; receive all the information they are willing to afford you; give them, in return, on the various measures they may have to adopt for the interest of their school, all the explanations and instructions they may desire; appeal to family sentiments, and to the interests and feelings of domestic life. Such, within the modest horizon of communal activity, are the most powerful and moral agencies that can be called into play.

Most especially, I recommend you to establish a cordial understanding with the parish priests and pastors. Use your best endeavours to convince them that it is not from mere convenience, and to display an empty respect, that the law of the 26th of June has inscribed moral and religious culture at the head of the objects of elementary education. We follow up sincerely and seriously the end indicated by these words, and we shall struggle to the utmost limits of our power to re-establish in the minds of the young the authority of religion. Believe truly that in placing this confidence in its ministers, and in confirming it by your habitual conduct and conversation, you will secure, in nearly every quarter, the most useful ally that popular education can win over.

I shall invite the Prefects to issue the necessary orders for the convocation of the municipal councils in all the townships you may have to visit.¹

¹ The circular of the 13th of August, 1885, to the Prefects, contains the following paragraph :—

"During his circuit of the different townships, the Inspector of elementary schools will have to hold frequent conferences with the municipal councils, to explain to them the necessity of establishing schools in the townships where there are none at present, to impress on them the advantages, and to point out the means of having a school-house in property, in those localities which possess them not, and to make observations to them on the assessment of the monthly contribution, and on drawing up the list of those pupils who, not being able to pay their quota, must be admitted to the elementary school without charge. I request you, Mr. Prefect, to authorize the mayors, when announcing to them the entry into his duties of the Inspector of elementary schools, to assemble the municipal council as often as that functionary shall require them to do so."

[The

With regard to the interior inspection of the schools, I can only give you very general instructions, such as are already comprised in Articles 2 and 3 of the Statute of the 27th of February. You must judge for yourself, in each locality, how you are to conduct it, what questions you are to put to enable you to ascertain and estimate the conduct of the school, the merit of the master's system, and the progressive instruction of the pupils. I merely suggest to you never to be satisfied with a superficial and hasty examination: by such you will not only mislead the administration with incorrect and deceitful ideas, but you will compromise your own character and influence the immediate future. Nothing reflects so much discredit on authority as appearances of inattention and hurry, for all the world seeks then to hide from it what it most requires to know, or to confound the knowledge it already possesses.

I recommend you, in your communications with the masters, even in the bosom of the school, to say or do nothing that can impair the respect and confidence entertained towards them by the scholars. To nourish and develop these sentiments ought to be the principal object of education, and of all who co-operate in its advancement. Collect from the masters all the particulars they can supply, and give them in return whatever information you may deem necessary; but when you leave the school, never let the teacher feel himself weakened or depreciated in the estimation of his pupils and their parents.

The results of your annual inspection will be inserted in the tables, the forms of which I shall order to be transmitted to you. The statistical facts connected with the townships

The elementary Inspectors are fully qualified to explain to the mayors, and to the municipal councils which admit them to their sittings, every possible requirement of elementary education, as well for girls as for boys, and to solicit, in consequence, such funds as these councils can appropriate. (Resolution of the 18th of October, 1836.)

and schools included in your visitation will also be inscribed there, according to the information conveyed to you through the local committees. A special column will be opened in the table on the condition of the schools, to receive your observations as to the capacity, aptitude, zeal, and moral conduct of the tutors. I request you to fill this up very carefully, at the time of visiting each school, before the impressions you have received can be altered or effaced.

The returns of the condition of the elementary schools divided into as many copies as there are district committees in the department, will be transmitted in quadruplicate in the month of January to each committee, who will insert their own observations, and thus forward one despatch to the Rector, another to the Prefect, and a third to the Minister. The fourth will be deposited in their archives.

Such general observations as may be intended to acquaint me with the existing [REDACTED] of elementary education in the whole of the department, its various wants, the [REDACTED] which retard its progress in particular places, the means of improvement, and finally, [REDACTED] which cannot be inserted in the specific return of its actual condition;—these you are to include in the annual report you are required to furnish by Article 9 of the Statute of the 27th of February, which you will forward to the Rector and the Prefect, who will remit it to me with their own remarks.

Next to the communal elementary schools which form the leading object of your mission, the other [REDACTED] of primary instruction, and particularly the normal schools, and the superior elementary schools, the halls of refuge, and the adult schools, must claim your earnest attention.

On the two first classes of these establishments, I have little to add to the provisions of Articles 4 and 5 of the Statute [REDACTED] the 27th of February. I suggest to you, merely, in what concerns the superior elementary schools, to neglect nothing that can promote their formation in the townships

in which they ought to exist. These establishments are intended to satisfy the wants of instruction in a numerous population, in which simple elementary education is insufficient, and classical knowledge would be [redacted]. In requiring from you annually a special and detailed report upon each superior elementary school, the Statute of the 27th of February indicates the importance attached to these establishments. As soon as I have acquired, from the experiments already attempted in that class, [redacted] ample information, I shall forward to you particular instructions.

You [redacted] bestow too much attention on the elementary normal school of your department, or observe too closely the system of its working. Preserve the most intimate relations you can establish with its conductor: on him and you depends the destiny of elementary education in the department. You will be instructed to watch and direct, in every locality, the masters he has trained in the lessons of that school. Your mutual understanding, the clearness of your views, and the harmony of your respective influence, [redacted] indispensable to insure mutual success. Your position [redacted] upon both to establish a true fraternity of thoughts and [redacted]. Let [redacted] be real, and animated by a profound conviction of your common duties. The task of each will thus be lightened, and your action rendered much more effectual.

Whenever you may have to communicate instructions to the director of the normal school, when you think it necessary to give him advice or to make observations on the progress of his establishment, do this with all the delicacy that your relative position requires. If you should remark that he either slights your suggestions or ideas, you can call for the interference of the Rector or Prefect, according as the question may involve teaching, or some administrative fact dependent on the general government.

The halls of refuge and adult schools are on the increase ;

but still these establishments are not yet sufficiently numerous or so regularly organized as to enable me, at this moment, to give you, as regards them, the full instructions you may require. They will reach you at a later period.

The private schools are also placed under your inspection. Without exercising over them the systematic superintendence you extend to the communal seminaries, you must not neglect to visit them from time to time, and particularly in the towns where they are numerous and influential. In these visits you will not make the system of teaching the particular object of your attention; it is natural private establishments should exercise, in this particular, all the liberty that belongs to them; but you will bestow full attention on the conduct and moral state of these schools; this being the urgent interest of families and the duty of public authority. The masters who conduct them have also legal obligations to fulfil, the accomplishment of which you ascertain.

The information you collect respecting the private schools, will also be included in the returns on the condition of elementary education.

It remains now for me to speak of certain personal duties which are equally intrusted to you, which, although they have nothing to do with the inspection of the schools, are not the less of the highest importance to elementary education in general.

The first is your participation in the labours of the commission, appointed in virtue of Article 25 of the law of the 28th of June, 1833, and which is charged with the examination of all candidates for warrants of capacity, as well as with the inaugural and retiring examinations at the end of each year, of the teachers trained in the normal elementary schools of the department.

On the labours of these commissions, as much almost as on any other agency, depends, perhaps, the future destiny of

elementary education. The vice of the greater portion of examinations, with us, is that they degenerate into a trifling formality, or that the complaisance of the examining professor covers the deficiency of the candidate. We thus adopt, on the one hand, a practice injurious to society, by declaring those capable who are insufficient, and on the other, of treating lightly the legal enactments, and of converting them into a sort of official falsehood, which establishes an outrage against morals equally serious. I trust that [redacted] commissions on elementary education will not fall into a similar error. You are especially called upon to guard against this. The examinations committed to them ought to be very serious, and really calculated to test the capacity of the candidates. Never forget, and constantly remind the members of the commissions amongst whom you will have the honour of sitting, that, provided with their diplomas of capability, the tutors admitted by them may present themselves everywhere, and obtain from the confidence of the townships the care of bestowing elementary instruction on generations that will receive no other light.

As to the extent to which it may be considered desirable to carry these examinations, that must be regulated by the provisions of the law itself, which determines the objects of primary and superior elementary education. The [redacted] endeavour to attach much value to acquirements apparently of a very varied quality: be careful not to fall into that snare. Require always, as an absolute condition, solid information on the matters which really constitute elementary education. Undoubtedly, [redacted] must be given to the candidates for the knowledge they may possess beyond that boundary; but these accomplishments must never be suffered to cover any deficiency within the circumference of the prescribed circle.

I cannot too strongly urge you to give to the report you will have to address to me every session, on the proceedings

of examination, your scrupulous

Article 7 of the Statute of the 27th of February calls upon you also to be present, as often as you can, the conferences of the tutors, which will be duly authorized in your department. I propose, in proportion as these conferences multiply, collect, regards them, every particular importance, and to forward to you, on their conduct and mode of regulation, particular instructions. Meanwhile, you will take care that such meetings confine themselves to their immediate business. Either from chimerical pretensions, or excuseable views, it is possible that attempts might be made, in places, to introduce questions which ought to be utterly banished. Elementary education would only be compromised, but prevented, from the day when political passions are suffered to intrude. It is, like religion, essentially a stranger to all such objects, and solely devoted to the development of individual morality and maintenance of social order.

In calling upon you to give your considerate opinion upon all propositions of assistance and encouragement of every kind in favour of elementary education, and to calculate the result of the allocations accorded for that object, Article 1 of the statute of the 27th of February imposes upon you a labour of minute character, but of great utility. Too often, encouragements and aids are granted somewhat hazard, and subsequently handed over to an additional chance, that of execution. It is indispensable that government, in granting these supplies, should know well what it undertakes, and that after they are accorded, it should again be informed that the intention has been really carried out. In such matters, do not shrink either from exactness of investigation or prolixity of detail. Your estimate will, in all probability, be under what the necessity of the case requires.

I could, Mr. Inspector, give to the instructions I now

address to you, a much greater development; but they are already sufficiently extended, and I would rather, with reference to the consequences of the principles herein laid down, rely on your own sagacity and zeal. In conclusion, I call your entire attention to the idea with which I am myself incessantly pre-occupied. To you is committed, as much and perhaps more than to any other individual whatever, the realisation of the promises of the law of the 28th of June, 1833, for you are selected to carry out the application in every particular case, and even to the definitive moment of its accomplishment. Never lose sight of the fact, that in this great attempt to ~~realise~~ popular education, universally and effectively, success materially depends on the moral character of the masters and the discipline of the schools. Concentrate your solicitude and your efforts incessantly on ~~the~~ two conditions. May they continually advance in accomplishment: may the ~~habit~~ of duty and ~~the~~ habit of order be ever progressing in our schools: may their good reputation establish itself and penetrate into the hearts of families. On these foundations, the prosperity of elementary education will keep pace with its national utility.

~~I~~ the assurance, &c. &c. ~~I~~

No. IV.

(Page 78.)

1. *The Abbé J. M. de La Mennais to M. Guizot.**Fleury, Oct. 1, 1836.*

Sir and Minister,

I rejoice at the opportunity of renewing our former relations, the remembrance of which will ever be most agreeable to me, while they have so powerfully encouraged and sustained my efforts to disseminate elementary education in our country of Brittany. I have the satisfaction of seeing my establishments multiply and prosper, despite certain difficulties of detail incessantly recurring, and sometimes producing despondence. Nevertheless, these latter are less numerous and active than they have been. It is now generally admitted, that scarcely any schools are practicable in our rural districts, except those of the Brethren. But, at last, from the retreat in which I have finally collected them all, I have no longer one disposable; and if each were divided into four, the number would be still insufficient to satisfy all demands.

I must, therefore, occupy myself more than ever with the enrolment of novices, which supplies a perpetual source of embarrassment; not that I have any difficulty in finding candidates, but that they are nearly always young men who [redacted] nothing, know very little when they arrive, [redacted] require to be kept a long time before they are rendered capable. In certain respects, their poverty itself is an advantage. Their manners are more simple and pure, their

minds ~~more~~ solid; they ~~have~~ no extravagant habits, no luxurious tastes. Born in the country, they return to it more willingly than others; they arrive there ~~at~~ less cost, and aspire to no superior condition: but to clothe and feed these poor and excellent youths, until they are able to conduct ~~a~~ school, entails an enormous expense; and it will, I am sure, be quite needless to endeavour to convince you that I am now, more than ever, under the necessity of soliciting your ~~aid~~. For 1836, you were kind enough to grant me 8000 francs; for 1837, you will, I know before asking, award me all that you can spare. For this reason I do not press for more, in spite of the many motives I have for desiring an increase. I rely entirely on the generous benevolence with which you have honoured me; and if I do not hesitate to have recourse to it, it is because I feel the importance of receiving before the commencement of 1837, the sum that you may assign to me. I entreat, therefore, the order for its payment as soon as you may find it convenient.

You will learn with pleasure that Finisterre, hitherto so backward, has asked me for more schools, since I have been enabled to establish one there which has met with great encouragement. To all who write to me from that department, with the same object, I answer, "send me apprentices and pay for them;" but this condition is unsatisfactory. In like manner, I reply again to many urgent instances which reach me from various provinces of France, asking ~~me~~ to found novitiates, "send me the candidates and pay their expenses." This reasonable proposition contents no one, and the project which would require some sacrifice is at once abandoned. In another quarter, the minister of Marine, has requested the ~~President~~ of ~~Martinique~~ to convey to ~~me~~ ~~the~~ desire of having some of my Brotherhood to instruct the emancipated slaves of Martinique and Guadaloupe. ~~I~~ have been unable to say no, for it would be a beautiful and holy work! neither have I yet said yes, for the sad objection ever

recurs, where shall we find materials to supply so many wants, and why send our brethren so far off, when — are so scantily supplied? Alas! if I were only seconded as I desire!

I am, with respect,

Sir and Minister,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

The Abbé J. M. DE LA MENNAIE.

2. *M. Guizot to the Abbé J. M. de La Mennais, at Ploërmel.*

Paris, Nov. 8, 1836.

I will assist you, sir, with great pleasure, to continue the salutary work you are carrying on with so much perseverance. I comprehend all your difficulties; but do not despond—you will surmount them. Every labour is effaced by success; we ought to look for victory, if not for peace. I will allot to you at the beginning of 1837, 3000 francs of subsidy for your institution of Ploërmel. I cannot do it sooner; you have already received 3000 francs from the accounts of 1836; those for 1837 must be opened before I can order the payment of any sum on their credit.

I am anxious to receive from you some specific details as to what you could effect, if you were assisted, substantially assisted, in regard to the education of the slaves in our colonies. No one is more strongly convinced than I am, that enfranchisement is impracticable until this unfortunate class of human beings has lived for a considerable time in a religious atmosphere. Amongst the English colonies, Antigua is that in which religious emancipation has been the most successful, although sudden, because — — — brethren were established there for nearly a century, and had acquired an immense influence over the black population.

How much would it cost your Brethren, and how many could you assign to that mission? ~~Will~~ it be necessary to form them into a particular branch of your institution? I wish to obtain all the information possible before entering directly on the subject with the minister of Marine.

Adieu, sir; when you require my aid, be assured that it will not be wanting while you continue to do so much good in the cause of popular education, and receive, I pray you, the assurance of ~~my~~ most distinguished consideration.

GUINOT.

No. V.

(Page 114.)

1. *M. Jouffroy* ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

Marseilles, Dec. 6th, 1835.

I write these few lines from Marseilles to inform you of my safe arrival in this city. Although much fatigued, I am not worse than when I left Paris, which is all I could hope for. I expect to leave on Tuesday for Leghorn, by the

■ ■ ■ The weather is beautiful, and if ■ continues so, we shall have a very mild passage. If the sea affects me too much, I shall disembark at Genoa and go on to Pisa in ■ vetturino.

I am enchanted with the valley of the Rhône, from Lyons to Avignon. They are the finest outlines in the world, and I was even pleased with the sombre tints that winter has spread over the landscape. The country of Avignon has revealed to me a feature in nature I was hitherto unacquainted with, and has left on me an indefinable impression. I say nothing of the graceful valley of Aix, nor of the beautiful roadstead of Marseilles; I was better prepared for the spectacle they presented to me. It has not moved me like ■ ■ ■ city of ■ popes, ■ ■ ■ magnificent horizon planted with ruins which surrounds it.

I expect to arrive without accident ■ Pisa, whence I shall write to you. I am aware that you have been so kind as to provide for me there an agreeable and useful acquaintance, in the person of M. —. This ■ another obligation

I owe to your goodness, which I shall again encounter as in
I will not repeat how deeply and gratefully I am
moved by it. Such feelings express themselves inadequately.

Adieu, sir, believe in my old and invariable attachment,
and in my respectful devotion.

JOUFFROY.

2. *M. Jouffroy to M. Guisot.*

Pisa, Jan. 4th, 1836.

Sir,

Although I have been settled in Pisa for fifteen days,
I was unwilling to write to you until I had acquired some
knowledge of this country and its inhabitants. I have found
on the banks of the Arno an extraordinary temperature,
which has not relaxed for a single moment since my arrival.
At several intervals the river has been frozen over, and
during the night the thermometer has fallen six degrees
below zero. With such weather, it was impossible that the
re-establishment of my health could make much progress,
and yet I feel much better than in Paris. The journey,
in particular, although fatiguing, has done me the greatest
good. While in motion, I was perfectly well, and I only
relapsed into the sensation of weakness under repose. I
shall profit by this indication, and as soon as the weather
softens, mean to undertake numerous excursions in the
environs of Pisa. I hope, by the aid of this system, and
under a sky that cannot fail to become rapidly milder, to
attain the object of my voyage. I do not apologize for
entering into these details; you have so strongly proved the
interest you take in my health, that I have no hesitation in
naming them.

I have met with the most obliging and cordial reception from all the professors of the University. I have called upon, and am intimately associated with M. Rosellini, who is prosecuting with zeal, and at the expense of the Grand Duke, the publication of his great work on the monuments of Egypt and Nubia: also with M. Rosini, one of the most distinguished poets and prose writers of Italy, author of the "Num of Monza," which has balanced in this country the immense ~~work~~ of the Romance of Mansoni; finally, with M. Requoli, pupil of Dupuytren, and the first surgeon in Italy since the death of Vacca. These men would fill an ~~important~~ ~~rank~~ in any country, ~~and~~ neglect nothing to render my sojourn in Pisa agreeable and easy. All three are professors in the University, which counts in its bosom other men of merit; but unfortunately the professor of philosophy is an old priest, half a scholastic, half a follower of Condillac, and entirely inaccessible.

My hope of finding in the library ~~at~~ Pisa some interesting manuscripts, bearing on the history of French philosophy during the Middle Ages, has entirely vanished. The victorious Florentines despoiled the Pisans of every literary monument the latter possessed; and the library of Pisa composed of 50,000 volumes, is entirely modern, and without a single manuscript. I shall be compelled, therefore, to examine the catalogues of the libraries of Florence, when I visit that city, and, perhaps, I may there make some discoveries. Meanwhile, I am collecting information on the state of public instruction in Tuscany; but I fear it has undergone little change since the report of M. Cuvier. However, pray tell me, or let me know through Dubois, to what extent these researches would be useful to you, and with what view they ought to be particularly described.

The rigour of the season has not yet permitted me to work seriously, but when the fine weather returns, I hope to bring to a good end my labours on Reid. I am waiting

impatiently for the discussions in the Chamber, on our foreign policy. I expect much trifling on the part of our barristers; but after the sad debates on our internal which engrossed the late sessions, with so much danger to the country, it will be an important advance to see the Chamber at last occupying itself with our actual affairs, which are those from without, even though it should show itself as ignorant and weak as I expect. Let the attention of France be once diverted from herself, passions will then calm down, and we shall enter, at last, on real political existence. Under this view, I greatly lament my absence from the session about to open; I think I should have taken some part in the discussions, but our true interests will not want representatives, and I shall enjoy your victories at a distance.

Adieu, sir; believe I pray you in my old, invariable, and true attachment.

JOURNAY.

No. VI.

(Page 117.)

*Report ■ ■ ■ King.**Paris, August ■ ■ ■ ■ ■*

Sire,

A sum of 25,000 francs has been carried to the budget of 1835, for new creations in the instruction of the faculties of the kingdom. The object of some of these creations was indicated in the report I had the honour of presenting to your Majesty, dated the 31st of December, 1833.

It is complained that, instruction in law is incomplete. . . . Several faculties demand chairs of administrative law. . . . and there is not one in which our French constitutional law, ancient and modern, is taught. . . . Meanwhile, the government under which we live to-day, calls so many citizens to take part in the affairs of the state, in those of the departments and townships, that it becomes most desirable that the portion of our legislature which belongs to the exercise of political rights, and to the privileges of the different powers, should be explained and commented upon, ■ least in our principal schools. Such lectures, delivered by men of experience and expanded reason, might become questions of great social interest. I feel, therefore, that it has become urgent to make some experiments of this nature.

The credit demanded was allowed by the Chamber, with views in accordance with those which your Majesty had deigned to approve of. I have, therefore, in consequence, felt it my duty to reflect on the most convenient locality for

the first essay in this instruction, on its precise object, on the form ■ should assume, and the rank it ought to hold in the order of ■■■■■.

Although the establishment of ■ course of constitutional law is, in fact, ■ complete novelty in our schools, it may be introduced there the more readily, as the principle of ■■■ instruction had been acknowledged from the beginning, by constitutive decrees of the faculties of law, and especially by that of the 21st of September, 1804, which appointed, article 10, that—

“In the second and in the third year, besides the sequel of the *Code des Français*, public French law and civil law will be taught, in their relations with public administration.”

But this promise remained sterile under the Empire.

It was the same under the Restoration. In the momentary development which the faculty of Paris received by the decree of the 24th of May, 1819, public French law was reduced to a ■■■ of ■■■■■ justice, which ■■■ speedily suppressed. It belongs to the government of your Majesty to establish on this point, what has always been dreaded, and to teach openly the principles of legal liberty and constitutional right, which form the ■■■ of our in-
■■■■■

Such instruction, without doubt, cannot extemporize itself in all the schools at once. Of a common-place character, it would be useless and even injurious. It requires superior men, who can lend to it the authority of conviction and talent. Let a single chair of this class be instituted, and it will speedily exercise an important influence.

This point admitted, Sire, there can be no doubt as to ■■■ locality of this first creation. It is in the school of law of Paris, in the very centre of the most active and complete instruction that this new class should be opened, and call upon the whole world to pronounce judgment.

With regard to its object and form, they are determined

by the title itself. It is the exposition of the Charter, and individual guarantees, as well as political institutions that it

It will no longer comprise, for us, a simple system of philosophy, given over to the disputes of man; it will become a written and acknowledged law, which can and ought to be explained and reasoned on, as well as the civil law, or any other department of our legislation. Such a course of instruction, once extensive and precise, founded on the public national law, and on the lessons of history, capable of expanding itself still further by foreign comparisons and analogies, ought to substitute for the errors of ignorance and the temerity of superficial ideas, powerful and positive knowledge.

According to my conviction, it is in the full freedom and extent of this course of Lectures, that its efficiency will be found. As constitutional law is now, amongst us, a veritable science, the principles of which are determined and its application in daily practice, no extreme consequences can be apprehended, no mysteries that it may be advisable to conceal; and in proportion as the exposition made by a lofty mind will be complete and thoroughly fathomed, so will the impression conveyed be peaceful and salutary.

But for this precise reason, your Majesty will doubtless consider that this new instruction cannot be added as a simple ornament to the school of law in Paris, and that it ought to be incorporated with it as an integral portion of study.

Already, since 1804, new objects of instruction, not comprehended within the original organization, have been, at different periods, added to the old classes, and are become obligatory on the pupils. Thus, the decree of the 4th of November, 1820, independently of the course on the civil code, furnished the adoption of a course on the commercial code, and on administrative law. A regulation of the 17 May, 1821, equally [illegible] administrative

law should form a necessary part of the second examination for the degree of licentiate. For the same motives, and through a still more elevated consideration, the course of constitutional law ought to be rendered compulsory, in the third year, on aspirants to the licentiate, in the faculty of law at Paris; and the second examination for this diploma ought to include a special trial in the objects of the new course.

From these different arrangements it will result that the title of licentiate in law will become more elevated, and more difficult to obtain in the faculty of Paris, than in the other faculties of the kingdom. But a similar irregularity exists already between the faculties in which the teaching of administrative law forms part of the course, and those in which it has no admission. Moreover, the most important point of all, is to improve still further what already flourishes, and to establish somewhere the model of an extended and well-directed instruction, without detriment to the future multiplications, on various points of France, of an institution so happily experimented.

I have the honour, in consequence, to propose to your Majesty to award your approbation to the accompanying draft of a decree.

I am, with the deepest respect, Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble, and most
obedient servant, and faithful subject,
GUIZOT.

No. VII.

(Page 120.)

*M. Auguste Comte to M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction.
(Confidential.)*

Paris, Saturday the 30th March, 1838.

Sir,

Although for more than three weeks I have postponed my intention of writing, I must commence by sincerely asking pardon for intruding business on you so soon after the cruel and irreparable loss you have sustained, and in which I most sincerely sympathise. I since, in accordance with what you were so obliging as to say in our last interview, it was towards the beginning of March, that the proposition was to be definitively examined which I had the honour of submitting to you, respecting the creation of a chair for the *general history of physical and mathematical science* in the College of France, I fear, were I to preserve silence longer on this point, that you might imagine I had renounced the project altogether.

It would be out of place, sir, to repeat here, even briefly, the many leading considerations calculated to impress the capital importance of this new instruction, its double influence in contributing to give a more philosophic direction to scientific studies, and to fill up a fundamental blank in the system of historical researches. It appears to me to be the evident and indispensable complement of superior teaching, and more particularly at the present epoch. I refer on this point to my note of the 29th of October, or to speak more correctly to your own spontaneous opinion on a question

which the nature of your mind and your anterior meditations place you in a position to form a sound judgment of beyond that of any other person. I must confess to you that, above all other considerations in this matter, I attach the highest value to your own unbiased decision, independent of all influence, in using your right over the Collège of France, which fortunately by the law and by usage is placed beyond the province of the council of Public Instruction. The only two learned scholars who virtually form a portion of that council, although otherwise distinguished in their special endowments, are, by a singular coincidence, generally acknowledged in the scientific world as perfectly unacquainted with everything belonging to the proper sphere of their labours, and utterly incompetent in all matters which affect the philosophy of the sciences and the history of the human

There would be, I am bound to say with my habitual frankness, more than modesty in such an intelligence as yours, subordinating your opinion to theirs on a question of the nature which I have now the honour of calling to your close attention. If on this subject you are able to gather useful suggestions, it will not be, at least, from the assistance of your official advisers.

As during five months you must undoubtedly have found leisure to examine this affair with mature consideration, without being importunate or indiscreet, I may last expect your final decision. I am far from complaining the precarious, and, times, state in which I have ever found myself up to the present moment, for I feel how materially it has contributed to

But that education cannot continue through an entire life, and it is full time at thirty-five to feel anxious for a fixed and suitable position. The same which have been serviceable (and according to idea usually indispensable) in compelling man to mature his conceptions and combine profoundly the general system of

labours, become injurious by prolongation, when the question is to prosecute calmly the execution of researches suitably planned. For a mind such as you, sir, know me to possess, there is, I may venture to say, a better employment of time for the interest of society than giving every day five or six lessons in mathematics. I have not forgotten that in the philosophic conversations, too rarely occurring and so deeply interesting, which I had the honour of holding with you formerly, you were pleased to say often how much you should consider me adapted to assist in the regeneration of the higher degrees of public instruction, circumstances ever bestowed on you its superintendence. I do not hesitate to remind you now of that kind disposition, and to solicit its effects when a new creation is in debate, which, apart from my personal advantage, combines in itself an indisputable benefit to science, and so completely harmonizes with the character of my understanding and the studies of my entire life, that I think it would be difficult to present a more suitable candidate.

I hope, sir, you will not consider my urgent application on this subject as misplaced after such a long delay. You are aware that although this project was completely arranged in my mind before you entered on your ministry, I have never sought to submit it to your predecessor, under a perfect conviction that I should not be understood; and it is equally probable that the same reason may prevent me from proposing it to you. You may judge, therefore, that it is of the utmost importance to me to have this question decided while the ministry of Public Instruction is occupied, thanks to a fortunate exception, by a mind of the stamp of yours, and with which I have the precious advantage of personal acquaintance.

As this function embraces happily no political feature, I do not expect that under the general plan of the present government any reason can exist for my exclusion, notwith-

standing ■■■ incompatibility ■ my positive philosophy with all theological or metaphysical systems, and consequently ■■■ corresponding systems ■ political. Under any circumstances such exclusion could not affect my free philosophical range, which is already too distinctly characterized and developed to be stifled by any material obstacle, the effect of which, on the contrary, could only be to ■■■ into it, by the involuntary resentment arising from profound injustice, a feeling of irritation, against which I have until now carefully protected myself. As I ■■■ believe ■■■ purely gratuitous ■■■ personal ■■■ can occur to the mind of any statesman, under any system whatever, I feel no apprehension on this point. If, nevertheless, any motive of this nature should oppose your kind feeling, I doubt not but that you will frankly acknowledge it, as you must be well assured that I know you too well to look upon a mind so enlightened as yours as entirely unacquainted with such difficulties.

I do not either anticipate any obstacle from financial considerations, for the budget of the College of France seems to me perfectly capable of sustaining this ■■■ charge without any additional fund, as the chair of political economy will probably not be re-established, on account of its vague and contentious character, and of the irrational conception of that pretended science, as it has been understood up to the present day. At all events it is necessary at first to acknowledge in principle the advantage of a course on the history of positive science, without mixing up the question of money. I can the more readily facilitate such a decision, as I should willingly consent to undertake this course without salary until the Chamber appropriates a special fund, supposing the budget to be really inadequate.

From these various reasons I hope, sir, ■■■ you ■■■ shortly grant ■■■ a last interview to acquaint me with your definitive resolution on the subject of this creation, whichever

way it may incline. I am desirous of not being kept longer in suspense on this point, that I may be enabled, should this promising career be unfortunately closed to me, to pursue congenial steps in another direction, and to lead myself to a position, after a period of philosophic seclusion too much indulged has now become with me an imperative duty.

I have disdained employing, in approaching a man of your worth, the ordinary resources of indirect patronage and solicitation, of greater or less importance, which I might notwithstanding, like others, have brought into play. Singly, I address myself to you alone. An insulated opportunity presents itself of placing me in an eligible post, without wounding any other interest, and of founding a scientific institution which, I do not fear to say, will reflect enduring honour on your ministry of Public Instruction. I believe, therefore, that I may reckon on the decisive proof to which I submit your former kindness for me, and on your zeal for the true progress of human intellect.

Accept, sir, the sincere assurance of the respectful consideration of your devoted servant,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

No. 159, Rue St. Jacques.

P.S. I beg of you to accept freely the homage of the first volume of my "Course of Positive Philosophy," of which I have the honour to send herewith a copy. The publication of this work, which the troubles of the book-trade had suspended for two years, is now about to be continued without interruption by another editor. I hasten to avail myself of my first privilege to dispose of a few copies, to satisfy the desire I have long entertained of submitting this work to such a judge as you are.

No. VII.

(Page 140.)

Lafayette to Girard.

Your Excellency,

My great work in two volumes on the United States, with the English translation of the text, is in the press, and you are several times celebrated in it: first, when treating of the condition of public instruction in the United States, as compared with that at present existing in France and England. Your eulogy springs from the subject as naturally as the flower from the stalk. You are the modern restorer of public education, in our beautiful country. This truth is known and admitted even in the journals. I have before me that of *Useful Knowledge*, the *American Bee*, and the *Monitor of New Orleans*. Your course of history has become a memorable epoch in the annals of our University. Your historical works, which we study after reading them, present that section of our knowledge as a Roman orator would have conceived it, as the preceptor and instructor of life, *magister vita*. In treating of the actual state of legislation in the United States, in France, and in England, I have had occasion to designate the orators who take the lead in Congress, in Parliament, and in the Tribune; and certainly I could not omit him whose admirable talent of extemporaneous speaking protects the sound ~~principles~~ which direct the government of France. With all enlightened minds, I entertain a profound conviction that if the government had followed any other course, if it had

impressed any other bearing on public affairs, France would have undergone new revolutions since the days of July. It suffices, to be satisfied of this, to know the restless and changeable character of the generality of the French people, and the spirit which governs the cabinets of Europe. France, crushed and dismembered, would have been invaded for the third time.

The tumultuous debates excited throughout all parts of the United States on the occasion of the treaty of the twenty-five millions, form a remarkable appendix to my work. The speakers in opposition, who have discussed this question in the tribune, have placed themselves in a false position. They have misjudged the Americans. They have ignored or pretended to misunderstand the moral of these civilized countries. In general, the inhabitants of the United States do not comprise a national body, properly so called; a homogeneous people. The founders of the federal government all repose in their tombs, and their descendants, constitute only the smallest part of the general population, which is composed of Irish, Germans, Swiss, Spaniards, Italians, Poles, French, &c. Jackson himself, an American by birth, was only eight years of age at the period of the proclamation of independence, having been born on the 7th of June 1767. All these people, so different in spirit, manners, habits, and language, enjoy here a half-savage liberty, unfettered by the laws, and select in preference for their chief, an old soldier, who throughout his life has cultivated his fields in Tennessee, or hunted miserable savages in the forests. Can it be believed or expected that such a man, harsh in character, can treat of public affairs with our courtiers and academicians? Jackson, an extremely despotic soldier, as he has proved at Pensacola and New Orleans, where he was confirmed in his habits, by all conventionalities, by custom, and not from perverse disposition. He is well placed at the head of a new people, little advanced in the career of

Mr. Livingston. This truth has been fully acknowledged by Mr. Livingston himself. That citizen was charged by the legislature of Louisiana to draw up a code of laws. I was at that time President of the University of New Orleans, living very familiarly and even in a sort of intimacy with Livingston. I wrote to him to point out many deficiencies in his work. His answer was, and he has assuredly not forgotten it, *that this rough sketch was sufficient, for the moment, for a new people, economical and laborious, and who as yet had no establishments beyond those absolutely necessary for the first wants of life.*

The American people, in their manners and language, are somewhat too rough and unripe to be able to see anything offensive to France in Jackson's message. Extreme French susceptibility ought to make allowances for a nation whose forms and expressions are naturally severe and even sour. Political affairs are not dealt with at Samarcand as at Paris, at Sparta as at Athens in the polished era of Pericles. The passage objected to, is, if we may use the term, a specimen of unripe fruit. Jackson deals in a similar manner with the constituted authorities of the United States, and probably with the cabinets of Europe who have the good sense not to take offence at it. Look at the messages with respect to the bank, and especially as to disturbances in the Carolinas. All these debates, in which the senate accuses the President of having violated the constitution, and the President retorts by protesting against the senate; in which Jackson threatens to coerce the southern States, and draws upon himself in reply the appellation of a new Robespierre, a second Marat, leave no irritation behind them, and produce no commotion in the great family. Toleration prevails throughout the States, and the heads of the members of congress are not inflated by an ambition to supplant the ministers. Much surprise has been excited in these countries on observing that the treaty has only been attacked by the so-called liberals, and by the legitimists with advertisements. The Americans, in their col-

lective good sense, have judged that the attack upon the Jackson treaty was merely an ostensible pretence, that the true objection was levelled against the ministry, and that all the recriminations of the liberal party may be worded in this formula: "vacate those seats that we may step into them." to the legitimists they exhibit palpably in their cries for *economy*, and their appeal to the *national dignity*, the reflection of Laocoon in sight of the Trojan Horse, *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*.

In conclusion:

1. The language of the people of the United States, such as it has been formed and established, differs essentially from that of a nation arrived at their last degree of civilization.

2. Jackson has yielded to the impulse conveyed to him by Livingston, in several letters which have been exactly copied in all the American newspapers.

3. The message contains great eulogiums on the French people, which ought to weigh against the unfavourable impression produced by the offensive article.

4. The French Government has justly treated the inconsiderate diplomatic agent who supplied pernicious advice.

5. And ought not the heavy reflections cast upon Jackson from the tribune, to be taken into account on the side of compensation?

I therefore consider, in common with all Americans, and even Frenchmen who inhabit this country, that *justice has been done*.

I speak no more of myself. I believe, however, that possessing a thorough knowledge of the United States and the surrounding regions; that being well acquainted with English and Spanish—and language establishes a sort of relationship amongst nations—I could be very useful to you, robust and healthy as I am, and entirely devoted to your government, to which I offered my homage from the first days of its ~~independence~~ *independence*. I shall never importune you again, and shall confine

myself, in my solitude, to the regret that nature having implanted within me, throughout all my life, ■■■ desire of serving my country, has nevertheless refused me the means.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's

Very humble and obedient servant,

LAKAYAL.

Mobile, State of Alabama, July the 6th, 1835.

No. IX.

(Page 171.)

1. *Extract from a Report to the King on the Ministry of Public Instruction, for the service of the year 1885.*

Sire,

For nearly fifteen years, the study of the sources of history has assumed a new activity. Men of clear-sighted intelligence, of rare science, laborious constancy, have ransacked the vast depositories of the archives of the kingdom, and the collections of manuscripts in the Royal Library. Some have even carried their inquiries into the libraries and archives of the departments. Everywhere it has been ascertained from the first experiments, while seeking at hazard, that great riches have remained buried. Efforts were redoubled, and discoveries equally important and unexpected rapidly followed, authentic revelations, which throw new light on particular events and periods of our history, to such an extent that we may be permitted to assert that the manuscripts and original documents hitherto brought to light, scarcely exceed in number or importance those which have remained unpublished.

Since this fact has been established, not a single day has passed in which men, jealous of the progress of science and the literary glory of France, have failed to express their regret ■ seeing the working of so rich a mine abandoned to insulated individuals, whose greatest efforts can only produce partial ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ truth, amongst ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

voluntary explorers, we ought to distinguish the Academy of Inscriptions, which has laboured to collect various series of monuments relative to our national history.

Majesty has very recently convinced yourself of the extreme slenderness of the resources at the disposal of the Academy, for the publication of these collections, and of the inevitable slowness of the result. Thus, however praiseworthy may be these efforts, they are inadequate to soothe the regrets and satisfy the desires of those who wish to obtain possession of so many treasures, as yet useless and unknown.

The necessity of bringing these isolated attempts to a close has begun to be so keenly felt, that some persons have recently formed themselves into a society, with a view to concentrate and arrange in co-operation the researches of all who dedicate themselves to this class of labour.¹ I trust this society has not made a vain appeal to the friends of science; I take part in its efforts; but I cannot conceal from myself that even if it could obtain the command of much greater resources than I can suppose it to possess, its action would still be partial, and its publications could only extend to a few series of monuments.

The government alone, according to my conviction, retains the power of accomplishing the great work of a general publication of all the important and hitherto inedited materials connected with the history of our country. The government alone possesses the resources of every description which this vast enterprise requires. I do not even speak of the means of providing for the expenses it must entail; but, as guardian and depository of these precious legacies of the past, the government can enrich such a publication with a host of explanatory notes, which a private individual would strive in vain to supply. This is a truly noble undertaking,

¹ The Society of the History of France, founded in June, 1833, already reckons 200 members, and independently of its *Bulletin*, which appears every month, has issued several important publications.

worthy of the benevolent interest of your Majesty for the advancement of Public Instruction and the diffusion of knowledge.

But every day of delay renders the task more difficult; not only do traditions become indistinct, and thus remove from us many means of completing and interpreting written evidences, but the monuments themselves undergo material alteration. There are many depositories, particularly in the departments, in which the oldest records go astray or become undecipherable, in the absence of the necessary care for their preservation. I feel therefore the urgency of placing this enterprise in immediate operation, and on an extensive scale.

One of the first measures should be to prepare an inventory of the palaeographical treasures in all the departments. The researches should be carried on in two classes of establishments; at first in the communal libraries, and secondly, in the dépôts of archives, whether communal or departmental. I know already that there are several libraries which might be most profitably explored, and nearly all contain something worth collecting. These libraries, in particular, furnish information on the history of provincial localities and peculiarities. But under this head more riches would be found in the archives than in the libraries. Despite the [redacted] which during forty years have produced irreparable gaps in the greater portion of these archives, an abundant harvest may still be gathered there. There are even some which by a fortunate chance have escaped pillage; and when [redacted] has happened that they have belonged to one of those towns, or ancient capitals of important provinces, such, for example, as Dijon or Lille, it is easy to understand how many valuable facts may still remain buried there. One of these towns can present us with the uninterrupted correspondence of all our sovereigns for five or six centuries; another possesses more than two or three thousand charters,

more than six thousand pieces not only unpublished, but unknown to paleographers, and the importance of which no catalogue or analysis has yet revealed. In a word, the departmental libraries and archives would, in all probability, become one of the sources from whence the most abundant materials of this great publication might be derived.

The department of manuscripts in the Royal Library should be equally examined, and would furnish a mass of original documents, the importance of which is difficult to calculate. Colbert, Brienne, Dupuy, and Gaignières collections, and many others it would run into too much length to enumerate, have as yet been scarcely, as we may say, glanced into. In them are buried, correspondences, memoirs, writings of every kind, living reflections of all ages, a repertory of judgments passed by each separate epoch upon No other dépôt is richer than the Royal Library in materials for that class of history which may be called contemporaneous, a history equally compounded of the revelation of ideas and facts.

The archives of the kingdom, on the contrary, would throw vivid light on certain particulars of events disfigured by tradition. Important corrections might be derived from thence, with curious information on all the social transactions which leave an authentic and official trace of their passage. There are also in the dépôts of the archives, treasures which no one would be tempted to seek there, such as diplomatic correspondence, political treaties, and fragments of history. Thus, in conclusion, libraries and archives of departments, the Royal Library and the secondary libraries of Paris, and the archives of the kingdom, are the principal establishments whose hidden riches should be brought to light.

But there still remains another historical source perhaps more fertile and as yet even less known.

The depositories of which I have spoken are public: the government could only extract from them, and render more

to all readers, what, with persevering efforts, private individuals might undoubtedly accomplish by themselves. The advantage would be enormous; but the government is called upon to do more. It possesses other archives under its sole control, and of which it can, without any inconvenience, disseminate, in part at least, an unappreciable

Until now, at one time the nature of the government, and at another incidental inconveniences, have rendered these great depôts almost inaccessible; but the distinction is so profound between the present epoch and times past, the policy of to-day is so little based upon that of preceding ages, that the actual government can, without fear or scruple, open to the public with a portion of these historical riches.

By pausing towards the commencement of the last age, not only the interest of the state, but that of private families will escape all injury.

Evidently the facts and documents anterior to the reign of Louis XVth belong no more to politics, but to history; and nothing interferes to prevent the publication of those which merit publicity.

In thus exploring with discretion the archives of the different ministries, and especially those of foreign affairs, which are in perfect order, the publication which I have the honour to propose, will be a monument equally worthy of your Majesty and of France.

The history of cities and provinces, of local facts and customs, will derive light from the departmental libraries and records; the general history of ideas, usages, manners, and rites, from the manuscripts of the great libraries of Paris, and the archives of the kingdom; in fine, the particular history of treaties and embassies, from the archives of the Foreign Office. That of legislation and important trials from the records of Parliament; that of sieges, battles, the navy, and the colonies, from the archives of War and Marine.

In this statement, I can only lay before your Majesty a summary or imperfect sketch of the undertaking I submit for your approbation. I trust that the results I can only glance at, but which may be confidently expected, justify in your Majesty's eyes, and in the estimation of the Chambers, my demand for an extraordinary allocation. If credit is accorded, I shall have the honour of presenting to your Majesty a more detailed plan of this great national publication, and of submitting the mode of execution the most likely to insure success.

I am, with the most profound respect, Sire,

Your Majesty's most humble, and obedient
servant, and faithful subject, the Minister of
State for the Department of Public Instruction,

GUIZOT.

Paris, December 31, 1835.

2. Report to the King on the Measures prescribed for the discovery and publication of Inedited Documents relative to the History of France.

Sire,

Your Majesty has deigned to entertain the views I had the honour of submitting to you relative to the search after and publication of inedited documents relating to the history of France. The Chambers have voted, in the budget of 1835, a credit of 120,000 francs, dedicated to these labours, and which attests loudly the interest inspired by the scientific and national enterprise approved of by your Majesty.

I have applied myself to prepare the success of this measure, and I your Majesty's permission to bring under your observation the plan which I propose to follow, and the arrangements I have already prescribed.

Since the 22nd of November, 1833, I have addressed myself to the Prefects, to obtain from them precise information ~~on the state of the~~ of the ~~archives~~ archives of the departments they administer, as well as on the various works in manuscript which may be contained in those depositories. The answers I have received have already supplied me with some curious documents; they have, in particular, pointed out to me the most desirable courses to adopt so as to arrive at important results.

On the 20th of July last, I placed myself in relation with ~~the~~ academies and learned societies in the departments; I have ~~solicited~~ their co-operation; I have endeavoured ~~to~~ arrange their efforts, and everything leads me to believe that they will second me with effective zeal.

On the 19th of July last, I formed, in the ministry of Public Instruction, a committee, including men of the highest consideration for their knowledge, merit, and historical labours. This committee will be specially charged to watch over and direct, in concert with myself, all the details of this vast undertaking. It has assembled several times under my presidency, and owing to the enlightened assistance which its members have willingly afforded me, we already begin to see the results it will be possible to obtain.

A preliminary care has occupied the committee; that of determining clearly the end proposed by the administration, and the limits within which it is to be restrained. On this point, it suffices to act rigorously according to the terms of the financial law of 1835, which comprise and explain the full idea of the undertaking. To gather from all sources, from the archives and libraries of Paris and the departments, from public and private collections; to collect, examine, and publish, if there is reason for doing so, all important inedited ~~documents~~ which have an historical character, such as manuscripts, charters, diplomas, chronicles, memorials, correspondence; even works on philosophy, literature, and art, provided

they revive some new feature of the manners and social state of any epoch in our history:—such will be the object of these labours.

I have carefully investigated with the committee the surest means of carrying these plans into execution.

The documents presents difficulties. At Paris, and in a small number of other cities, there are archives methodically classed, and in which are kept with great exactness the inventory of all the papers deposited there; in all other places disorder and confusion prevail. At the epoch of the revolutionary troubles, a crowd of documents, until then preserved in monasteries, châteaux, or in the archives of the townships, were suddenly given up to pillage and devastation. Masses of papers and parchments, transported to the neighbouring municipalities, have been thrown pell-mell into the lofts or abandoned lumber rooms; in several places the very memory is effaced of these transfers, so negligently and informally carried on. Hence, an opinion has been generally established, and has passed, as may be said, into a tradition in many departments, that all have perished alike, in those times of agitation. It is certain, nevertheless, that a considerable portion of ancient records may yet be found, and notoriously in the episcopal and parliamentary cities; and that many important documents have been preserved and restored to the towns from whence they were taken, when, at a subsequent period, a conservative authority ordered the collection, in the principal places of the districts, of the relics of the ancient abbey, confounded with charters and other authentic monuments. Several papers were also preserved at that time, as titles to property, or connected with estates that had been sold by public authority.

I have not been able to adopt the plan of actually and directly providing for the general and methodical classification of all local archives, whether of departments or townships: and our are unequal to

immense labour. The King's library contains already a general inventory of all the archives existing in France before the Revolution; an inventory drawn up about the year 1784, under the ministry of M. Bertin, and to which is appended a great number of registers, or lists of the principal documents contained in the local archives. These guides are sufficient for our first researches: as we penetrate into the public dépôts to explore their contents, we shall feel the necessity of placing them in order; the first advances will excite the zeal which leads to others, and zeal will create resources. The local authorities, the general and municipal councils, will naturally be excited and induced, we may hope, to reinstate their archives in convenient localities, and to prepare the catalogues of their contents. It is proper, therefore, to set to work at once, without commencing methodically by undertaking a general classification, which in the existing state of things would lead to more embarrassment than advantage, and which, moreover, our researches will bring on almost of necessity.

I have, in concert with the members of the committee, sought out in each department and town, men already known by their works on national history, and fit to be employed with those I am about to commence. We have drawn up a first list of eighty-seven persons, with whom I propose to place myself in communication, with the view of specially employing them in researches connected with the places where they live. A regular correspondence will be established between them and my department, through the medium of the Prefects, and without insisting everywhere on the same plan, on a systematic and uniform organization, which would ill agree with the wants or resources of particular places. I have, nevertheless, drawn up general instructions equally applicable to all researches and all plans, and which will be forwarded to all the correspondents of my ministry.

In places where I am unable to obtain the co-operation of

correspondents adapted to a work of this nature, I shall endeavour to supply them by sending special commissioners already experienced, and whose qualifications are well known to me. But I shall receive with readiness all communications and proposals. I am aware that many unassuming and industrious men live scattered and almost unknown throughout the country, ready to place their zeal and knowledge at the disposal of a favourable administration. I shall search for them sedulously, and rejoice when they are found. The central committee will constantly keep pace with the different researches carrying on in Paris and in the departments. It will superintend, by particular instructions, all the labours I shall have prescribed or authorized, and will forward to the correspondents of the ministry the information which they will find indispensable in estimating the value of the different archives and manuscripts. As soon as any important discovery is brought under my notice, one of the members of the committee will be instructed with its special examination; also to communicate with the person through whom it has been sent, and to search for all documents relating to the same subject, which may exist in other collections. As often as, after this inquiry, the publication of such or such papers and manuscripts may be considered desirable, it will take place under the superintendence of the committee, either by the immediate care of one of the members, or by an attentive revision of the labours of their correspondents.

Such, Sire, in its essential features, is the plan I conceive as desirable to adopt. The execution has already commenced, and I am able to acquaint your Majesty with the first and proximate results.

The archives of several cities in the kingdom are in good order, and sufficiently known for the immediate commencement of profitable researches. The public library of Besançon has been for a long time the depository of the papers of the chief minister of Charles V. and Philip II.—the Cardinal

Pernet de Granvelle. This vast collection is composed of the correspondence of that minister, of the notes of his agents, and of all the papers connected with his administration in the Low Countries and the kingdom of Naples. It has only been known to scholars, until the present day, through the rough sketch of a printed catalogue, and the short analysis of some pieces by a Benedictine monk of the eighteenth century. I have established, at Besançon, under the presidency of the learned librarian of that city, M. Weiss, a [redacted] instituted to proceed to a complete analysis of these materials. It will disconnect and separate them, placing aside those which contain sufficient interest for publication. I hope that a considerable portion of these historic documents will soon be ready for the press.

The rich and precious archives of the ancient Counts of Flanders are preserved at Lille. They contain documents reaching as far back as the eleventh century. I am taking steps, in concert with the Prefect of the North, to explore this collection, and to draw from it all such papers as may appear worthy of being brought to light.

The remains of the archives at Roussillon are deposited at Perpignan: [redacted] interesting particulars will [redacted] amongst them on the history of that province and on the relations of the kings of France with the sovereigns of Arragon. Many spoliation [redacted] a protracted negligence from which these records are, at length, rescued by the zeal of the librarian of the city of Perpignan, have not so completely impoverished them but that they may still contain some important papers.

At Poitiers, where the archives of the ancient province of Aquitaine are preserved, I have sent, with the title of keeper of the records of the city, one of the most distinguished pupils of the school of Charters, M. Redet. M. Ohelles, a pupil of the same school, has also been despatched to Lyons with a similar title.

In the libraries and archives of Paris, the labours are in full activity, and promise important results.

The department of manuscripts in the royal library, an immense dépôt of materials of every kind, is for the first time subjected to a general and regular examination. It presents bodies of works drawn up alternately by men well acquainted with the subjects of our history, and by individuals anxious to transmit to posterity the details of matters in which they have been personally engaged. We find there, also, collections of detached pieces in considerable number, supplying sources of authentic documents ■ almost every subject. The collections formed by several persons, whose names are preserved, such as those of Colbert, Dupuy, Brienne, and Gaignières, of Baluze, of the president of Mesures, and of several others, have been placed there in their integrity after the deaths of the possessors. Young men, practised in this branch of study, are employed, under the superintendence and direction of the conservators, Messrs. Champollion Figeac and Guérard, to explore these fertile mines, and to select the various manuscripts, memoirs, or other pieces, which may seem to them worthy of publication, and to be submitted afterwards to the special examination of ■ committee. Already several works have been extracted from this source, and are consigned to the hands of persons instructed to prepare them for the press. I must name, amongst others, a collection of curious notes in the hand of Cardinal Mazarin, relating to the daily incidents of his conduct during the wars of the Fronde. These notes, generally written in Italian, and in a very concise style, will be published with a French translation, and with explanatory notes.

■ journal of the States-general held at Tours in 1484, of which the Royal Library possesses several copies, was translated into Latin by John Mamelin, one of the members of those states. The numerous details it supplies on the discussions, the usages and political ideas of that time, have, in

a great measure, escaped the knowledge of our historians. Some have been contented to make this work known by extracts which others have copied. It will now be published, for the first time, in its original text, and accompanied by a translation.

An important monument of the language, poetry, and history of an epoch already remote, is contained in a vast chronicle in verse, of the war of the Albigenese, written in the dialect of the country at a period very near the event, by an author who had witnessed the facts he relates. This furnishes a mass of information equally interesting to philosophers and historians, and also one of the most curious literary relics of the thirteenth century. The care of its publication is intrusted to M. Fauriel.

After the peace of 1763, M. de Bréquigny was despatched to London, with a bureau composed of seven persons, to take copies of all the documents deposited in the archives of the Tower of London, which might in any manner bear on the history of France. This labour continued for several years, and produced a collection of nearly one hundred and fifty volumes in folio of copies of various documents concerning those of our provinces which remained so long under English rule. The originals of several of these documents have since been lost in the Tower of London. The nature of these researches, their extent, including also the events which have taken place since they were accomplished, all contribute to bestow on this immense collection an interest augmenting with time. I have ordered a minute investigation of this series, now deposited in the King's library; every document it contains will be successively examined; those which have not yet been published, but which deserve to be made known, will be corrected, classified, and brought forward.

Another collection which I consider calculated to throw new light on the political history of the ancient French monarchy, will be that of the charters granted to the towns and

communes by the kings and lords of the soil, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. These charters are very numerous; they embrace nearly the whole extent of France, and their tenor is extremely diversified. Some have been already published, but many others have not seen the day. Perhaps these latter may not be among the least curious and important. The King's library contains a collection of them, formed by the care of Dupuy, filling several volumes in folio. It will be submitted to a rigid analysis. The portion already known will be reprinted, but and papers necessary for its completion will be added. Finally, I propose to add the charters and primitive institutions of the corporations, masterships, and private established in France, in such manner that this may bring together and place in full light the many and varied origins of French citizenship; that is to say, of the first institutions which have served to enfranchise and elevate the nation. This work will be executed under the direction of M. Augustine Thierry.

The general archives of the kingdom, examined at the same time and in the same manner with the Royal Library, will furnish a great number of detached articles;—acts of public authority, of particular events, diplomas, charters, and other authentic monuments calculated to throw new light on the obscurest points of our history, and to correct erroneous or imperfect versions.

The special archives of the ministries promise even more important fruits: these materials must be investigated with prudence and discernment. Our researches, also, will confine themselves exclusively to the epochs which may be considered as falling within the domain of history. we shall find within these limits enough to excite and satisfy eager curiosity of and the general public. The directors of these valuable dépôts have all promised their zealous co-operation.

The archives of the ministry of Foreign Affairs, classified in perfect order, form our most considerable historical depôt, from the abundance and value of the documents. The publications I propose to draw from thence will be executed under the care of M. Mignet, the director, who has already prepared an important and extensive collection intended to commence the series. The long and curious negotiations relative to the Spanish succession, opened on the death of Charles II., will be the object of this compilation. Commenced immediately after the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1699, they only concluded in 1713, at the epoch when the peace of Utrecht fixed the public rights of Europe and its territorial distribution, on more solid bases. This publication will make known the progressive march of the great events of which it treats, and for the first time display openly in all its reality and extent the policy of Louis XIV.

The archives of the War-office will be consulted at the same time with those of foreign affairs, and the information gathered from both sources connected and mutually compared. Thus, while we seek in the archives of diplomacy all that relates to the negotiations engendered by the Spanish succession, the War-office will place at our disposal the history of the campaigns which followed and seconded those negotiations, accompanied by the correspondence of Louis XIV., Philip V., the Duke of Orleans, Marshal the Duke of Berwick, and the Duke of Vendôme.

To these last publications will be added maps and plans necessary to illustrate the military operations. The director of the actual depôt of the War-office has voluntarily placed at my disposal the valuable materials of this class which he has himself collected. They will be published under his personal care and superintendence.

Analogous labours will be carried out also in the archives of the ministry of the Marine. The condition of our navy, the history of our maritime wars and great naval battles, and that

of our colonies for more than one hundred and fifty years, are there perpetuated in authentic collections, the selection from which will be made by persons versed in that particular branch of study.

Next to the political, the intellectual and moral history of the country has an equal claim on our attention. The series of a nation's efforts and progress in philosophy, science, and literature, comprises a great and beautiful portion of its destiny. Undoubtedly the abundance and special character of the monuments of this class ought to prescribe to us some reserve on this point; they cannot be easily or numerously picked out in a collection of which history, properly so called, is the predominant object. But works which in some epochs have strongly agitated the minds, and exercised a powerful action on the development of contemporaneous generations, those which have opened in the progress of ideas a new era;—those, in fine, which under a purely literary form reveal to us forgotten manners, usages, or social facts, the traces of which we have lost;—such works ally themselves closely to history. If we should be able to discover any monuments of this character, we shall feel it our duty to hasten their publication, by forming them into a particular series in the general collection.

I am already able, Sir, to name to your Majesty a recent discovery in this class of the highest value to us amongst us who dedicate themselves to the study of philosophy and its history. The manuscript of the famous work of Abelard, entitled the "Yes and No" ("*Sic et Non*"), has been found in the library at Avranches. This book, supposed to be irrecoverably lost, is the same which occasioned the condemnation of Abelard by the council of Sens, in 1140. M. Cousin will superintend its publication.

In conclusion, Sir, the history of the arts ought to occupy a place in this vast accumulation of researches, which embraces every section of our national existence and destinies.

No study perhaps reveals to us more vividly the social state and true spirit of by-gone generations, than that of their religious, civil, public, and domestic monuments, of the ideas and rules that have presided over their construction; study, in fact, of all the works and varieties of architecture which form once the origin and epitome of all the arts.

I propose, Sire, to commence without delay a undertaking in this particular. I shall apply myself to the preparation of a complete inventory, a descriptive and argumentative catalogue of the monuments of all characters and ages which have existed or still exist on French soil. Such a work, by reason of its special nature, of its importance and novelty, ought to be kept distinct from the other historical labours which I have brought under your Majesty's consideration; it is, therefore, my intention to confer its superintendence to a special committee, and to make it the object of exclusive which I shall have the honour of submitting to your Majesty.

Such, Sire, are the steps I have taken, prepared, or projected, to assure the accomplishment of the great enterprise on the subject of which the vote of the Chambers has responded to the views of your Majesty. This enterprise ought not to be an incidental or passing effort; it will prove a lasting homage, and, as I may designate it, a perpetual memorial in honour of the origins and reminiscences of the glory of France. I venture to hope that, through the learned and zealous co-operation of those persons who are anxious to second me, the first results will speedily manifest themselves, and will not be unworthy of the noble thought, the execution of which your Majesty has deigned to confide to me.

I am, with profound respect, Sire,

Your Majesty's most humble and most obedient
servant, and faithful subject, the Minister,
Secretary of State for Public Instruction,

GUIZOT.

Paris, November 27, 1834.

No. X.

(Page 174).

Report to the Minister, Secretary of State for the Department of Public Instruction.

Sir and Minister,

Paris, March 28, 1886.

Since the last meeting of the committee, the historical labours undertaken by order of the minister, your predecessor, have not been suspended. These labours, as I have already had the honour of explaining to you, are of two classes: the *search* after documents, and their *publication*. This division is indicated by the text itself of the financial law which opens to the minister of Public Instruction a special credit for the collection and publication of inedited monuments connected with the history of France.

The search after documents comprehends the scrutiny and arrangement of the various collections of manuscripts, the analysis of papers which appear worthy of attention, and the examination of the proposals addressed to the minister.

Amongst ~~the~~ publications there ~~are some~~ terminated, others only commenced; some that have been ordered by ministerial decisions, and the materials of which are not yet sufficiently prepared for the press.

I propose to lay before you, in this report, the actual position ~~of the~~ ~~various~~ ~~publications~~ upon ~~the~~ ~~direction~~ of the first committee, to enable you, sir, to estimate for yourself what has been done up to the present date, and what it will be proper to do at a later period.

There is but one publication which may be said to be in

fact concluded,—the “Journal of the States General of 1484,” by John Masselin. This work has been printed and delivered to the public three months ago.

Volumes one and two, of the “Negotiations relative to the Spanish Succession,” have been published by M. Mignet, as well as the first volume of the “Collection of Documents to assist the History of the War of the Succession in Spain,” by General Baron Pelet, director of the war dépôt. The labour necessary to complete these two important publications is continued without intermission.

A volume entitled, “Journal of the Sessions of the Council of King Charles VIII.,” will appear immediately. M. Fallot has readily undertaken to prepare an introduction to this work.

Several other works are in the hands of the printer: 1. “The History in Verse of the Crusade against the Albigensian Heretics,” translated from the Provençal text by M. Fauriel: 2. A selection of the “Letters from the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses of France,” by M. Champollion Figeac, extracted from the copies of Brequigny: 3. “The Chronicle of the Monks of St. Denis.” Messrs. Fauriel and Champollion will willingly explain to the committee the point of advancement their work has reached.

M. Ravenel has finished his labour on the “Memoranda of Masarin;” he has added to the text of these notes the unpublished papers of Masarin’s;—his correspondence with Colbert, and several other pieces on the troubles of the Fronde.

The minister of Public Instruction has not yet issued the necessary authority for printing the work of M. Ravenel; it would be desirable to take the opinion of the committee on this point at its next meeting.

M. [redacted] publication of the “Chronicle in Verse of the Dukes of Normandy,” by Benoit de Sainte-More, the text of which he procured during his last visit to England.

I shall not mention here the publication, almost entirely finished, of the inedited works of Abelard, by M. Cousin, the second committee being specially charged with the direction of all that concerns literature, philosophy, the arts and sciences, in their connection with general history.

Your predecessor, Mr. Minister, recently authorized the publication of several other works, which he considered worthy of interest.

M. Jules Demoyens, a member of the first committee, has been instructed to draw up "A critical statement of the researches undertaken in France at all periods, having for their object the study and publication of the ancient monuments of our national history." This work is destined to serve as an analogue to that which has been confided to M. Ste. Beuve, on the "History of Literary Criticism."

The Benedictines of Solesmes, united into an association by the Abbé Guéranger, canon of the city of Mons, have received permission to continue their collection "Gallia Christiana:" they will work at first, during a year, at the completion of the volume, for which they have already accumulated a considerable amount of materials. The committee, after having examined the result of these labours, will decide whether it may be desirable to confide this undertaking to them for a longer period.

M. Tommaseo will publish, under the direction of M. Mignet, the "Accounts of the Venetian Ambassadors" relative to the affairs of France during the sixteenth century.

M. Claude is printing, under the superintendence of M. Guérard, "The Cartulary of the Abbey of St. Bertin." When this work is published, the same labour will be continued for the "Cartulary of the Church of Notre Dame de [illegible]"

The scrutiny of the "Manuscripts of the Royal Library," intrusted to M. Champollion Figeac, has yielded important results during the course of the year 1835: within the last

month, this service has been completely re-organized. Seven persons are employed there in place of twelve, and the duties of three of these are principally confined to the collection and analysis of papers which contain valuable documents on the history of France.

The commission instituted at Besançon, under the presidency of M. Weiss, continues the scrutiny of the manuscript papers of the Cardinal ██████████ Granvelle.

M. Leglay pursues his work on the manuscripts deposited ██████████ the archives of Lille and Cambrai.

M. de Courson carries on similar researches ██████████ Rennes, in concert with M. Maillet, the librarian of that city.

██████████ correspondence with the departments has for some time furnished useful acquisitions. I ██████████ lay before you, Mr. Minister, a summary of the most important labours of the correspondents of the ministry.

M. ██████████ de Chambure, correspondent for the department of the Côte d'Or, addresses (June 29, 1885) a notice on the "Manuscript of the History of St. Jean de Réôme," which comes from the abbey of Montiers St. Jean, where it ██████████ incorrectly designated under ██████████ "Cartulary of Réôme."

The same correspondent communicates (July 24, 1885) the discovery ██████████ has made in the library of the Academy of ██████████ Dijon, of two manuscripts, of which one, formerly belonging to the library of the President Boubier, is entitled "Journal of what happened in Burgundy during the League, from ██████████ to 1601, by the Sieur Pépin, Musical Canon of the Holy Chapel of Dijon," in small 4to, mentioned in the "Bibliothèque Historique," No. 35897. The second manuscript has for title, "Mémor of what took place in the Parliament of Dijon, from the 10th of November, 1574, to the 3rd of July, 1603, by Gabriel Breunot, Counsellor to the Parliament," in large 8vo; mentioned also in the "Bibliothèque Historique," No. 33053.

July 15.—M. Piers, correspondent of St. Omer, sends the continuation of his notices on the manuscripts belonging to the library of that town. Those which he forwards at this date relate to Nos. 249, "Cyrilli Alexandrini Thesaurus;" 750, "Cartularium Folciensi;" 769, "Vita Tharanta, Siensi archiepiscopi." He also points out the following: "Vita beate Mariæ de Onyaco," "Genealogia Comitum Flandrensiũ, etc." M. Piers adds to these memoranda, a biographical and bibliographical notice on the abbey of Clairmarais, with a description of the church. This last part belongs rather to the special labours of the second

July 26.—M. Ardant, jun., of the Tribunal of Commerce of Limoges, forwards a copy of a manuscript, entitled, "Of the Enfranchisement of the Inhabitants of Rochechouart, and the Creation of a Township in 1296."

August, 1835.—Dr. Leglay, pursuing his investigations in the archives and libraries of the department of the North, has found several manuscripts which he considers worthy of attention, and deserve, according to him, to be printed and published by the government, if not entire, at least in the greater part. He has remarked, in the first instance, two chapters, until now inedited, of the "Chronicle of Molinet." Perhaps it would be desirable to order these fragments to be copied, with a view to their future publication in a collection of different pieces. The "Memoirs of Robert d'Esclaibes," a gentleman of Hainault, who served in the army of the League in the time of Henry III. and Henry IV. have been named by M. Leglay; those of the Baron de Fuverdin, forming at least ten thick volumes, have also seemed to him to contain a host of interesting, and in many cases important, public affairs of the 17th century. If the committee deem it expedient to follow up the propositions of M. Leglay, he would supply

fresh details on these two works, in addition to those already contained in the letter addressed by him to the minister of Public Instruction. We have confined ourselves provisionally to thanking M. Leglay for the communications he has addressed to the minister; a more precise answer will be forwarded to him when you have consulted the committee on this subject.

M. Jouffroy and M. Weiss have also indicated as an historical monument of high importance a "History, in sixteen books, of the Wars of Franche-Comté, from 1682 to 1642," by the Sieur Girardot de Beauchemin, Counsellor of the Parliament of Dôle, and member of the government of the province at that epoch. This work interests, not only by the exposition of facts and details, but also by a lively, energetic style, by the faithful reflection of the spirit of the time, and by a remarkable acquaintance with political events. The minister, your predecessor, had authorized M. Weiss to occupy himself with the publication of this history. He questioned him as to the plan he intended to adopt, when he could commence, and how much time would be necessary for the accomplishment of the undertaking. M. Weiss has not yet communicated his answer.

Various documents, forming part of the unpublished papers of the Cardinal de Granvelle, have been collected at Brussels by the Baron de Reiffenberg and M. Oachard, keeper of the archives of Belgium. They are anxious to forward these documents to you, which have been placed at the disposal of the commission of Beaumont.

September 14.—M. Larrigandière, a bookbinder at Moissac (Tarn and Garonne), and the possessor of a certain number of charters and manuscripts relating to the abbey of Moissac, proposes to sell these documents to the government.

The minister of Public Instruction has not yet been able to obtain sufficient information as to the value of pieces offered to him, to be in a position to form any decision on

that point. There are besides no funds in the budget of the ministry, available for expenses of this nature. If we were to employ in the purchase of historical papers which have fallen into the hands of private persons, the credit destined for research and publication, credit, already very limited, would soon become inadequate; and the ministry not being able, moreover, to preserve in its archives the documents it might have purchased, would find itself compelled to resign them to those establishments which possess resources for acquisitions of that nature. M. Larri-gandière has therefore kept his manuscripts. He threatens to employ them in the labours of his business. These are the expressions he has used. It seems to me desirable to call the attention of the committee to this matter.

October 6, 1835.—M. Buchot sends a report on several manuscripts of George Chastelaur, which he says he discovered while visiting the libraries of ancient Flanders. There is no longer an opportunity of entertaining his proposals. Since he wrote to the minister on this subject, he has announced the intention of publishing these documents on his own account, in the general collection he has promised to the public.

18.—M. de Formeville, Counsellor in the Royal Court of Caen, and correspondent of the ministry, communicates an inventory of the documents he has collected in various public and private depositories of the department of Calvados. M. de Formeville's letter, and the notes accompanying it, have been considered with the greatest care by M. Champollion, and according to the advice given by the latter to the late minister, fresh instructions have been forwarded to M. de Formeville, the answer to which we are now expecting.

November 20.—M. Maillet, correspondent of the ministry, and librarian of the town of Rennes, announces that there exists, in a small commune situated about six leagues from

that place, a manuscript of 1225, containing the concessions and privileges granted by Duke Peter, called De Mauleiro, and confirmed by his successors. Other communications of M. Maillet have been examined by M. Fallot. We wait the answer which M. Maillet should address to the ministry, in accordance with the special [redacted] he has [redacted] since that epoch.

November 22.—The Baron de Ganjal, First President of the Royal Court of Limoges, informs the minister that he has completed the collection of the customs and privileges of the towns of the ancient province of Rouergue, from the commencement of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth. I am of opinion that these documents embrace sufficient interest for publication at the expense of the state, in the collection of inedited monuments connected with the history of France.

December 6.—M. Adhelm Bernier proposes to publish, as a sequel to the "Journal of the Sessions of the Privy Council of King Charles VIII.," the following pieces, which he guarantees to be hitherto inedited:—

1. An original document concerning the Dukes of Lorraine; and, amongst others, the one who figures prominently in the privy council of Charles VIII.

2. Historical [redacted] VIII., consisting of the prophecy [redacted] King Charles by Guilloche, and [redacted] entitled, "The Eldest Daughter of Fortune; or, Praise of Anne of Beaujou."

The minister not having acquired precise information as to the manuscripts named by M. Bernier, and proposing, on the other hand, to publish very speedily the "Journal of the Council," has remitted to the examination of the committee the new propositions of M. Bernier.

January 24, 1836.—The same M. Bernier transmits to the minister the unpublished "Chronicle of Gaston IV., Count of Foix, governor for Charles VIII. and Louis XI. of the

province of Guienne," [redacted] by William Leseur, his domestic, and copied from the unique manuscript in the Royal Library.

January 12.—The Baron Langier de Chartroule, correspondent, and formerly mayor of Arles, forwards a notice of a vast number of historical documents, extracted from the [redacted] town. M. de Chartroule scarcely gives more than the titles: if one of the members of the committee would take the trouble of examining them, we might request from M. de Chartroule more extensive and circumstantial details.

January 12.—M. Henri, correspondent and librarian of the town of Perpignan, acquaints us with the result of the researches to which he has devoted himself in various depositories of archives. The particulars he supplies are too vague to authorise, on this scanty information, compliance with the desire expressed by M. Henri for a special allocation to follow [redacted] these researches.

January 31.—M. Léchandé d'Anisy, correspondent [redacted] Caen, gives information on the remains of the archives of the abbey of Savigny, deposited in the sub-prefecture of Mortain. The minister [redacted] specially charged M. [redacted] d'Anisy [redacted] examine these documents, to which his attention had been called. It appears to be demonstrated that they are far from having the importance they were supposed to possess.

January 31.—M. Leguidec, who has long devoted himself to a profound study of the Breton and Gallois dialects, begs the minister to give him a commission to search for Celtic manuscripts and charters which may possibly exist in Brittany and the neighbouring provinces. The minister has decided that this proposition should be submitted to the [redacted]

February 9.—M. Olivier, correspondent [redacted] Valence (Drôme), forwards a very elaborate report on the manuscripts connected with the history of France, possessed by the city

of **■■■■■**. An indemnity has been granted to M. Ollivier, and he has been instructed to continue his work of investigation.

February **■■■■■** Chambaud, Secretary of **■■■■■** tion to the Museum Calvet at Avignon, has undertaken, by order of the prefect of Vaucluse, and with the authority of the minister, to scrutinise the commercial archives of his department. **■** communicates in a first letter, the results of his **■■■■■**.

Finally, Mr. Minister, particular missions have been intrusted to certain individuals.

M. Michalet has made a list of the catalogues of manuscripts in the libraries of Poitiers, La Rochelle, Angoulême, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Limoges, and Bourges: a detailed report has been sent by him to the minister of Public Instruction.

Another report has been forwarded by M. Granier de Cassagnac, employed to make a tour in certain departments of the south-west of France, with a view to verify the state of the archives and the labours of the correspondents.

M. Dugna, correspondent for the department of Vaucluse, has also communicated the results of the work he had undertaken, by order of the minister, on the historic manuscripts in the library of Carpentras, and on those belonging to M. Requien, of Avignon.

Such, sir, are the labours completed, commenced, or proposed. I have nothing to say on all that has been finished. For what has been commenced, the question is, to proceed; the enlightened zeal of the associates of the ministry requires no stimulant, for every day a remarkable progress manifests itself in their undertakings. As to various proposals that have been made to you, the committee will examine them in order, and consider how far **■** will be desirable to carry them into effect. **■** shall confine myself to observing that the funds allotted in the budget for historical labours, far from exceeding their requirements, would, on the **■■■■■**

trary, prove insufficient, if the administration did not consider it a duty to postpone many useful undertakings, if it merely awarded to all persons employed suitable and well-earned ~~salaries~~. In every quarter of the kingdom, long and painful ~~labours~~ ~~are~~ unremittingly ~~carried~~ on; ~~and~~ ~~it~~ scarcely a dépt of importance that has not been ransacked with a degree of activity the more worthy of praise, as ~~it~~ has nearly always been disinterested. The love of knowledge alone excites to these exertions. You will consider, without doubt, that it touches the honour,—I will even say, that ~~it~~ falls within the duty of the government,—to associate itself more and more with these noble efforts, by protecting and seconding them with all the means at its disposal; and particularly by increasing the resources necessary to guarantee their duration and secure their success.

The Chief of the Y Division,

Signed: ROYER-COLLARD.

No. XI.

(Page 181.)

Laws to resist Disorder and support Power.

1831.

Dec. 10.—Law on posting-bills, bill-stickers, and public crying.

1831.

April 8.—Law on the security required from newspapers, or periodicals, modifying Art. 1 of the Dec. 14th Dec. 1830.*—————* Law on the mode of process of the press, bill-sticking, and public crying.*April 10.*—Law on riotous meetings.*Laws to extend and secure Public Liberty.*

1831.

Sept. 12.—Law for the re-election of deputies appointed to public offices.*Oct. 8.*—Law for the application of juries to political offences, and of the press.*Oct. 11.*—Law relative to the annual vote for the contingent of the army.*Dec. 14.*—Law reducing the amount of security and stamp-duty on newspapers.

1831.

Feb. 8.—Law placing the charge of the Jewish worship under the charge of the State.*March 4.*—Law on the composition of the courts, and on jury notices.*————— 21.*—Law on municipal organization.*March 22.*—Law respecting the national guard.*April 19.*—Law on the Chamber of Deputies.

1883.

April.—Law authorizing the government to suspend for a year the election of municipal councils in certain townships.

1882.

April 16.—Law bestowing on government the faculty of authorizing marriages between brothers and sisters.

April 28.—Law containing modifications in the penal code, and in the code on collecting criminal evidence.

1881.

April 24.—Law on the exercise of civil and political rights in the colonies.

April 24.—Law on the legislative system of the colonies.

June 22.—Law on the organization of general councils of departments, and divisional councils.

June 28.—Law on elementary education.

1880.

Feb. 16.—Law against public

----- 28.—Law conferring on quarter-masters, and non-commissioned gendarmes, in eight departments of the west, the temporary powers of officers of judiciary police.

April 10.—Law against com-

1834.

April 20.—Law on the departmental and municipal organization of the Seine and of Paris.

May 19.—Law on the condition of

May 24.—Law against the manufacturers, retailers, distributors, and detainers of arms and munitions of war.

Sept. 9.—Law on crimes, offences, and contraventions of the press, and other channels of publication.

Sept. 9.—Law on the assize

—Law on juries and transportation.

1836.

18.—Law on the assize of juries.

1835.

June 22.—Law modifying criminal legislation in the colonies.

July 14.—Law on the organization of the gendarmes guard in the department of the Seine.

July 18.—Law on municipal administration.

May 10.—Law on the functions of general councils, and of councils of arrondissement.

1845.

June.—Law to prepare the emancipation of slaves in the colonies.

July.—Law to complete the preceding act.

No. XII.

*Memorandum of the Insurrection of Lyons, in April, 1834;
written in May, 1834, by an Eye-witness.*

THE voice of the Lyonesse press, at one moment interrupted and smothered by the report of cannon, is heard once more, after the re-establishment of material order. Some are simple enough to be astonished at this, while others are grieved.

I am neither astonished nor grieved. I know that, by the blessing of God, to fill up the abyss that opened, it has not been necessary to cast into it either a liberty or a principle. I know that the laws need not be offered up as a holocaust to propitiate the manes of those who have died for the law; I know that we have no occasion to assume the buckler, even to crush our enemy; I know that those irregular inquests which daily polemics are accustomed to hold on great events, often present wholesome lessons and profound truths, while they call back our minds, naturally so oblivious, to the meditation of accomplished facts.

But I also feel and know, that it is the paramount duty of every upright citizen to tender his conscientious testimony in this great proceeding, and that we are ill received if we complain of the abuse which some make of the privilege of publishing their thoughts, while we refuse to employ our own in the defence of truth.

For this reason, I have not hesitated to take up my pen, as truly and completely as I possibly can, the particulars of the contest which lately deluged Lyons with blood; the causes which led to it, and the consequences that will probably ensue. The narrative is written hastily, and at a moment when all the facts have not yet been officially stated; but of committing involuntarily a few partial general and systematic misrepresentations which are sought to be

Above all other considerations, it is essential, in the first place, to make known the true character of the movement so lately excited.

Politically, there is nothing that menaces our future. It was the last effort of a party which offered and lost the battle they announced to us in the tribune. It was the concluding act of a drama which has been too long and too sanguinary.

Commercially, on the other hand, this event combines some most unfavourable symptoms. It shows us the question of the Lyonesse manufactory, ever the same, since 1831; and this question, independent of the general march of affairs, and the progressive security of constitutional government, is not amongst those that can be estimated by force. Victory gained would, in this sense, possess little intrinsic value; we should have to prepare ourselves for a repetition of it every year, until the commerce of Lyons would be completely ruined.

Fortunately, the matter does not present itself thus: fortunately, the insurrection of 1834, exhibits to the eyes of all, the purely political banner under which it was arrayed: it has proclaimed aloud its rallying word,—a *Republic*; a very different from that echoed in 1831,—a *Tariff*.

Nevertheless, the habit has become so confirmed of seeing in Lyons merely a contest between the manufacturers of silk and their workmen, that many well-thinking persons can

discover nothing else in the recent occurrences. According to them, the insurgents are always operatives; April revenges

It is particularly to reasoners of this class that I address the following reflections. As to the writers in the "Precursor," and the members of the "Society for the Rights of Man," they know better than I do the real state of the case; but they act their true parts when they repudiate all participation in an attempt that has failed.

A preliminary fact calls for observation: the small number of silk labourers who took part in the insurrection. Let the return of wounded civilians, carried to the hospitals, be consulted, with that of the killed and prisoners; it will be found that scarcely one-tenth belonged to the silk manufactories. There is a more striking fact still: these lists indicate six strangers for every Lyonnese. It is the peculiar characteristic of political tumults to employ, almost exclusively, men attached by no family ties, to the city they expose to blood and fire.

I entreat those who would still see, in a cause which enlisted so small a number of Lyonnese and silk operatives, the special cause of Lyons and its staple article of commerce, to recall the really industrial crisis of 1831, and to compare the programme of that rising, with the plan of the late one. In 1831, they rose to the terrible cry of *Let us live by our work, or die in fighting for it*. In 1834, they declared war by reading, in the square of St. John, a long proclamation remarkable for nothing but its essentially political character. [REDACTED] it is:—

"[REDACTED]sine,

"The audacity of our rulers is far from abating. They hope thus to conceal their weakness, but they deceive themselves. The people are too clear-sighted in the present day. Is it not also known that all France abandons them, and that there is not one conscientious man, whatever may be

his position, manufacturer or labourer, citizen or soldier, who dares to proclaim himself their defender! . . .

"Citizens, hear what the government of Louis-Philippe, has lately done. . . . By decrees of the 7th of this month, it has appointed several courtiers, enemies of the people, to highly lucrative posts. These are so many additional blood-suckers, who are panting to gorge themselves with the gold we have so much difficulty in collecting, to pay overwhelming Amongst is Barthe, the renegade, is also nominated a peer of France. . . . Thus are men rewarded, destitute of honour or conscience, while all who are useful to their country are suffered to die in indigence: the workmen, for instance, and the old soldiers. Why are you surprised at this? The latter are honest and brave; they cherish existence only because it gives them the faculty of loving and serving their country. This also, is the reason why they are imprisoned, killed in the streets, or transported to Algiers! Such is not the manner in which a national and republican government would conduct itself.

"But the most significant act of royalty is the appointment of Persil, to the ministry of Justice! . . . Persil, citizens, is a purveyor for the scaffold! . . . is Persil who would have sacrificed the heads of the first patriots in France, and if the juries have refused them to him, it proceeds from no want of urgency on his part! . . . It is Persil who was infamous enough to take the lead in declaring that associations should be put down, and trial by jury abolished! . . . By selecting him for minister, royalty has adopted all the ideas and antipathies of the man! It will now leave him an unfettered course! . . . Unhappy France! will she indeed descend to the depth of slavery and shame to which they are conducting her? . . . The law against associations is at this moment under debate in the Chamber of Peers. We all know that it will pass there at once. We shall see it, therefore, before long, placarded in our streets! . . . You perceive, citizens,

■ is not only our national honour and liberty that they wish to destroy; ■ is our common life, our very existence that is ■. By abolishing associations, they seek to prevent the working-classes from maintaining themselves in necessity and sickness; above all, from helping each other in the attempt to ameliorate their wretched lot! . . . The people are just and good; those who attribute to them ideas of devastation and blood are *infamous calumniators*; ■ those who deny them *their rights and their bread*, are infinitely more guilty.

"Labourers, soldiers, all you children of heroic France, will you submit to these evils with which you are menaced? will you consent to bow your necks under the yoke of infamy prepared for your country? No; it is French blood that flows in your veins, they are French hearts that beat in your bosoms; you cannot, therefore, become assimilated to vile slaves. You will all understand each other to save France, and to restore to her the just title of *the First of Nations*. . . . April 8, 1834."

I ask, is this the battle-cry of workmen against their ■? Is this an affair of wages or tariff? No; all industrial questions are forgotten, to think of nothing but M. Persil and the law against associations: it is impossible to declare more explicitly the spirit in which it was proposed to act; and this spirit has presided over the insurrection to the last moment; the republican placards, the red flag, the compulsory *theking* and *throwing*; everything indicated an armed protest against the government of July, much more than against the organisation of the manufacture of Lyons.

If the question were less serious, I might pause here; but it is of importance to answer all objections, to dissipate all ■. With this object, I propose to ascend higher, and to explain by an abridged history of the crisis which preceded the late occurrences, how the industrial disputes became gradually extinct, under the influence of a prudent administra-

tion; how it abdicated in favour of the political quarrel; how the *Society for the Rights of Man* absorbed the *Society of the Mutualists*; and how politics alone inspired, directed, and executed the insurrectional movement of April.

■ is well known that the manufacture of silk has four distinct wheels of machinery; the workman, the foreman, the manufacturer, ■ ■ ■ commissioner. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ four wheels, three are necessary, but the interference of the foreman, who receives the materials from the manufacturer, and hands them over to the workmen, to whom he hires out his looms, seems only calculated to diminish injuriously the wages of the latter. More idle and ambitious than the simple operative, the foreman is also more turbulent; but, on the other hand, he is more moral, better informed, and further removed from ideas of pillage and complete subversion. The foremen excited the revolt of November, 1831; but they also restrained that fatal victory; they prevented it from degenerating into fire and devastation.

As to the workpeople, their essential deficiency is the foresight with which to a certain point the foremen are endowed. When salaries are raised, they increase their expenditure, and never lay aside a cent for a rainy day. At Lyons, the savings' bank receives no deposits: thus the labourer sees with terror the arrival of the moment for the cessation of work in the factories, and the reduction of wages. His fixed idea is a tariff,—which means a minimum, below which he cannot, under any circumstances, reduce the payment for a day's work.

This tariff was at first demanded from the authority. In 1831, the petition was presented to M. Bouvier Dumolard, by thirty thousand organized men. He to it, and this crowd, mad with delight at seeing their dream realized, retired with shouts of *Long live Dumolard! Long live our father!* The prefect slept tranquilly in the midst of these protestations of love. He believed that he had settled the problem.

But ■ reckoned without considering the necessities of commerce, which not permitting the manufacturer to work ■ a loss, impress impotence and ridicule on all attempts to assess permanently the price of daily work. The masters protested against the absurd covenant imposed on them; the workmen, strong in the mistake committed, hastened to the market-place ■ defend the treaty they ■ ■ their charter. The garrison was driven out, and the population of the workshops, compelled a few days afterwards to bow their heads before an army, preserved nevertheless ■ the bottom of their hearts, the recollection that for a time they had remained in possession of the field of battle. A fatal remembrance, which inflamed their pretensions, encouraged the thought of a new appeal to force, and demanded perhaps a sanguinary denial. In this sense, but in this sense only, the April of 1834, might pass as a revenge for the November of 1831.

The second time, the tariff was not required from the government, but from free discussion and the laws. The tribunal of the masters of companies was the arena of the new debate. The *Echo of the Manufactory* became the organ of the claims of the working class; but these senseless demands could ■ succeed on such a ground. It was speedily abandoned.

Organised force was finally resorted to. This last attempt having failed in February, 1834, the industrial crisis expired; it had no new transformation to undergo.

This calls for some details.

The *Society of Mutualists* is composed of foremen. That of the *Ferrandians*, formed on its model, admits labourers or journeymen. These two societies, already old, assumed some importance after the Revolution of July, and particularly since the manufacturing question had entered into its third period, that of which we are now speaking. Divided into lodges of twenty members, governed by a central committee

of twenty individuals, organized, in a word, in all the political associations which have since ended by absorbing them, the *Proletarians* and *Ferrouillists* fancied they could impose the tariff by seizing the powerful weapon of interdiction from work.

The means of execution were,—1. The cessation of work for the advantage of every manufacturer who refused to submit to the orders of the societies; 2. The desertion of the looms of the non-submissive foremen; 3. A relief fund for the operatives placed out of work by their adhesion.

This fund, scarcely sufficient for partial interruptions, was quite inadequate to indemnify the workpeople for the evil brought on them by a general suspension, and it is in this emergency that those considerable donations proceeding from sources in general unknown, sustained a zeal which threatened speedily to grow cool. This is not the only fact which marks the interference, gradually becoming more decided, of political parties in the industrial quarrel. Before long, the interruptions affected the opinions of the foremen, as also their disobedience to the regulations of the Mutualists. But let us not anticipate the march of events.

Against the mode of carrying out their plan, adopted by the workmen, legal means were powerless; an absolute system of non-intervention was prescribed to authority. It had no other mission than to protect the foremen and the manufacturers against material force, and to secure them from the threats which every act of firmness drew upon them.

This line of conduct, extremely simple in appearance, presented immense difficulties: to remain calm and impartial in the most passionate debates; to resist insulting provocations on the one hand, and urgent prayers on the other; to be contented with seeing, for some time, intentions, or at least their superior knowledge, disowned, and to wait their re-acknowledgement from a slow, remote, and doubtful success;—such was the position.

necessary to submit to with resolution, and not to abandon for a single moment. The struggle which ended in February, 1834, forms the most glorious epoch in the painful administration of M. de Gasparin. By dint of prudence, skill, and courage, he gained, over the evil passions of the manufactory, a decisive victory, the influence of which re-acted upon that of April, and may be remembered without bitterness as having cost no French blood.

■ was in the nature of the *Society of the Mutualists* to connect ■ more closely, by degrees and ■ unconsciously, with the political associations, and ultimately to become absorbed by them. At first, it assumed the character of their ally in opposition to the existing state of things, which equally offended all, although under different relations. This occurred at the end of 1833 : ■ that period a great explosion began to foment. The entry of the labourers into Switzerland, and the general suspension of work at Lyons, supplied the signal. The two operations took place simultaneously on the 10th of February, 1834.

Fortunately the Swiss government, suspecting the project of General Ramorino and ■ refugees, adopted measures which compelled them to forestall the selected day. The expedition, badly arranged, failed entirely. The ■ kept faith, but at the appointed moment. On the 10th of February all the looms ceased to work.

The city of Lyons then presented a truly strange spectacle : the warehouses were closed, the workshops empty ; fifty thousand operatives paraded the streets ; ■ hoping ■ reduce the manufacturers by famine, they had the constancy to support eight ■ days of idleness, without any other resources than the trifling succours of those who sustained their courage and kept their hopes alive.

These hopes were entirely falsified ; ■ held out to the end ; and eight days of suspended work produced not a cent of augmentation in the amount of wages.

The labourers, feeling the full weight of their experience, turned their resentment against those who had flattered them with chimerical expectations. From that moment the industrial associations ceased to possess independent existence and action; the *Mutualists*, incorporated in a vast proportion with the *Society for the Rights of Man*, became in reality the agents of the latter. The *Ferrandians*, dissatisfied with the *Mutualists*, withdrew from their intrigues; and in this situation the last events found the manufactory of Lyons. Am I wrong in saying that in 1834 February saved April?

In proportion as these industrial societies became divided and extinguished, the *Political Association of the Rights of Man*, which swallowed up the relics of the others, increased daily in importance, audacity, and influence. Messrs. Garnier Pagès, Cavaignac, and Romarino brought to it from time to time instructions from the parent society, while they investigated and reformed its organisation and plans.

It was especially after the introduction of the Bill for the suppression of associations, and on the approach of the insurrection of April, that the society manifested unusual activity. On the 30th of March it attempted to meet at the Brotteaux to protest against the Bill; but the approaches to that locality being occupied by a picket of infantry and fifty dragoons, the committee perceived the impossibility of penetrating to the indicated spot, and retired without attempting anything.

At the same epoch, the society despatched a special delegate to Paris, who visited, in passing, their brethren at Châlons, Beaune, and Dijon, distributing the watch-word for the general explosion appointed to take place.

Meanwhile, the *Mutualists*, as we have seen above, became more and more confounded with the *Society of the Rights of Man*. The *Echo of the Manufactory*, which is their organ, said positively, in the number for March 30: "If, in the order of the day, quoted by M. Prunelle, it is recom-

mended to expel from the lodges the printed copies of the *Rights of Man*, it is a measure of temporary discipline, and not a permanent prescription; these papers have never been prohibited in ordinary times, which is the more consistent, as many of the *Mutualists* are members of the *Society for the Rights of Man*, and of several other political bodies."

At last, as the moment for action approached, the central committee felt the necessity of addressing all the different sectionaries, and of fortifying itself in a new election. ■■■■ was the object of the following circular:—

"Lyons, the 15th of Germinal, in the 42nd year of the Republican Era (the 4th of April, 1834).

"Unity, Equality, Association, Propagandism.

"The Central Committee, for the Department of the Rhône, of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, to the citizens composing the ■■■■

"Citizens,

"As circumstances become more serious, the more do those you have chosen to direct the powerful action springing from your devotedness and convictions, feel the necessity of a perfect understanding with you, and of ascertaining clearly and determinately the spirit by which you are animated. With this object we had resolved that a general assembly should be held; but, confident in the precautions we had taken, we thought we might equally rely on the discretion or firmness of those with whom we had been compelled to treat for a suitable locality. The authorities have been forewarned, and the meeting prevented.

"We have thought ■■■■ proper to call together without delay, those who in its most extended sense represent the society, and to the heads of the sections we have verbally stated our actual position, and made a report of our labours during the quarter of the year which has recently expired. You will

each require from the head of your section a summary of this report; but we feel it necessary to aid their memories by repeating to you ourselves the following particulars:—

“With regard to finance, the committee has complained of the want of exactness which has been observed in the payment of the appointed contributions to the hands of the treasurer. It has announced that an arrear is still due for the month of January; that only one half of the sections have paid for February, and that no instalment whatever has been made for March; that, meanwhile, the expenses have gone on, even during the last month named, and that the chief item amongst them is comprised in the sums disbursed for the prisoners of Lyons or St. Etienne, which reaches at least 600 francs; that, in this situation, it is impossible to furnish on the instant a correct state of the finances during this quarter; that the committee has formally required the heads of sections to pay up their contributions at the approaching assembly of the district councils, and to appoint auditors, for whose inspection the general accounts will be handed over by the treasurer, according to rule.

“The committee has signified, as the organ of the society, and with thoroughly republican frankness, the dissatisfaction it feels in consequence of the inconceivable conduct of certain heads of sections, who, in contempt of the regulations, a formal obligation we are all bound to follow as long as they embrace no material impossibility, have endeavoured, an infinitely feeble minority as they are, to lead the majority by indirect ways to the adoption of their projects. It was nothing short of anarchy and division that they sought to introduce into our ranks, and at the precise moment too, when more than ever we required unity of purpose; but, in spite of all efforts, they have not succeeded in their attempts, and it is more by the estimation in which they were held than by internal strength that they have injured the society, for the last meeting of the heads of sections has amply confirmed us in the

opinion we already held, that the mischief emanated from three or four citizens alone.

"Nevertheless, the committee, principally on account of the serious position in which France is placed, and the immense increase of sectionaries during the last quarter, is desirous of ascertaining whether it is still to be considered the faithful and true representative of the society, and whether it is the will of the majority of the actual members that the trust with which it is invested should be continued. With the view of not controlling on any point the expression of the desire of each sectionary, the members composing the committee have announced that they tender their resignation. In consequence, the heads of the sections have been requested to apprise all the members, without delay, that a meeting will be held on Sunday, for the purpose of a new election.

"Citizens,

"You are about to perform an act of perfect sovereignty, without personal consideration for us, but by solely examining the services rendered to our cause; you will determine your choice, with reference to necessary pledges of devotedness and self-denial for the future. Until the general expression of your wishes is made known, we shall continue the management you have confided to us. If, during that interval, unexpected events should occur, you will find us what we shall ever be, prepared for every sacrifice which the well-understood interest of the holy Republican cause may demand. Filled with respect for your wishes, we shall consider ourselves honoured in resuming, if requisite, our places as simple sectionaries, and shall continue to labour with our accustomed zeal. But we declare to you, that from this moment, we shall oppose directly and by every possible means, whoever may attempt for the future to act contrary to our established rules, and to bring confusion into the society.

"To secure the regularity of the electoral proceedings, the committee has established the following arrangements.

" The rules require that elections should take place in a general assembly; but all the sectionaries must be aware that it is physically impossible to carry out this article, since, independently of the difficulty of collecting them together for an entire day in any place where they would be secured from the interference of the authorities, bad weather, which we cannot prevent, might render voting impossible; that, besides, every one must be aware how difficult it would be to proceed in such an enormous assembly, and with the order requisite, to a ballot which it would be impossible afterwards to scrutinize, since two days would probably be insufficient to complete this operation; that the obstacles being acknowledged, and a precedent already in existence with the approbation of the sectionaries, the society feels itself to-day placed in this position,—either to abolish or modify in good faith an article of its regulations. In such a contingency, there can be no hesitation as to the choice; for this reason the committee determines:—

" 1. The sections shall be separately assembled in the usual place of their sittings.

" 2. After the sitting is opened, the chief shall read the present circular.

" 3. The seven future members of the committee shall be appointed by an absolute majority of votes. In case two rounds of balloting shall not give this majority to one or more of the members proposed, the election shall be determined at the third round by a relative majority.

" 4. A report shall be drawn up immediately of the result of the votes, certified to be correct by the chief, the sub-chief, and the first quintumvirate of the sections, and then sealed.

" 5. All the reports shall be delivered on Monday, at seven o'clock precisely, by the heads of the divisions. They will then be opened and read in a meeting to be held the same day. The result will be proclaimed, and ultimately announced to the sections in a new circular.

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HITLER'S BOOKS
"Health and fraternal greeting—

"The members of [redacted] committee:—Poujol, J. T. Hugon, P. A. Martin, E. Baune, Edward Albert, Silvain Court, [redacted]."

This production is open to many remarks; I shall not pause to indulge in them; I shall only say that the central committee continued its manifestoes during the whole of [redacted] conflict, as proved by the order of the day I am about to transcribe, and which is dated, like the circular above quoted, *in the forty-second year of the republic*. We see that it assumes its own legitimacy, and takes no account of the reign of the usurpers:—

"At Vienne, the national guard is in possession of the town; it has seized the artillery despatched against us. Everywhere the insurrection spreads. Patience and courage! The garrison must become weakened and demoralised. Even if it should maintain its position, all it can do will be to hold out until the arrival of our brethren from the departments; with break of day [redacted] shall receive favourable news.

"Lyons, the twenty-second of Germinal, in the forty-second year of the republic."

Let all then bear the responsibility of their deeds. It is to the political parties that Lyons owes its last misfortunes.

It will be said that the insurrection would have exploded vainly in other places, in Paris, for example, in the first instance, if it had been really republican, as long as in Lyons [redacted] betrayed a totally different origin. [redacted] these arguers forget that disorder, so often subdued in Paris, has abandoned [redacted] city, where an active police, an immense army, and a national guard, unanimous in [redacted] devotion, allowed it no longer the slightest chance of success. They forget that factions have emigrated to Lyons, where they have established the centre and home of all their intrigues; that they have conferred on that city the melancholy honour of being not only, for them, an industrial, but a political capital.

And, in fact, where could they find more favourably disposed for the triumph of anarchy? Where meet those remains of societies of workmen whose discontent is so easily stirred up? Where find a position so menacing of lower reference to the possessors of capital? Where else encounter the memories of November 1831? Where light upon a city more extensive and important in every respect, more influential by its position between the republicans of Burgundy and the legitimists of the South? Where select one more abandoned to the serious dangers ever engendered by a predominant manufacture? It is evident that revolt, whatever might be its character, would find here its centre and principal point of support.

Moreover, the explosion was not destined to be local. The promulgation of the law on associations spread the signal throughout all France. The anarchists of Lyons felt called upon to give fire before the order was issued. They thought that by seizing the opportunity of the prosecutions of the *Mutualists*, they would find the means of attaching to their cause all the labourers in silk who had begun to renounce disorders. By this step they were enabled to increase here the number of their partisans; but they commenced an isolated movement, and greatly suppressed.

As I have alluded to this law against associations, the promulgation of which became the signal of a protest under volleys of musketry, let me be permitted to explain my unreserved ideas on the written protests which preceded and prepared the last. I can state them without hesitation, for I declare once that I hold intentions as sacred. I believe that the most honourable views may be entertained by those who embrace the republican or the legitimist party. I can believe, and this admission scandalises many, that patriotism may possibly encourage street tumults and the violation of the laws. I lament the mistake of those who expect to

accomplish their ends by mischievous means, but in the absence of contrary proof, I give credit to their disinterestedness and sincerity.

These reservations being granted, I declare that of all the anarchical attempts which have taken place within the last three years, I know none more monstrous than that of the honourable M. Pagès (de l'Ariège) on the law upon associations. In a civilized nation, governed by a legal system, a citizen who violates the law, and violates it with thorough knowledge, who can proclaim loudly the necessity of this outrage, ought to excite against his proceedings the animadversion of all parties; for all are interested in what concerns the law, which is the exclusive property of no one. But when a citizen is himself a legislator, when he takes advantage of the tribune to place himself there, in the face of the country, as an adversary of the law which has just been adopted; when he tramples under foot those two great pillars of representative government, respect and majority and veneration for the law; when he appeals to every opposition to associate himself with them all; when he lays down this anti-social principle, that every one, in conclusion, is to pronounce judgment on the legislation of the country, and can select, either for rejection or adoption, the arrangements which suit him, or those which suit him not,—here I find the acme of moral disorder: there are no words sufficiently expressive in which to denounce such a dangerous system.

I believe that astonishment must have closed the mouths of all M. Pagès' colleagues, for no one took the word in reply to his doctrines, and demanded the indispensable commentary on his speech,—a call to order; thus other deputies have protested after his example: thus we have seen, as quite in ordinary, the journals open their columns to the protests of all the malcontents throughout the province. Then succeeded protests with arms in hand, which

assuredly M. Pages had no desire to excite, but which nevertheless followed as a logical deduction from his words. There was probably some exaggeration in assuming that the 8th of June, 1831, emanated from the *Public Report*, (*Comptes Rendus*,) but no one can deny that the protests of the deputies were translated into musket shots on the 9th of April, 1831.

Amongst the journals which have denied the political origin of the late events, "The Precursor" calls for special mention. It founded an argument on the articles published a few days before, and in which it preached, if not peace and concord, at least the renunciation of all projects of armed aggression.

I am not amongst those who think that under these pacific counsels "The Precursor" concealed a secret desire of commencing hostilities. I believe, on the contrary, that it belongs to that small fraction of the republicans which sincerely dreads a revolt, and considers the moment for revolution not yet arrived; but what it either does not see, or feigns to be blind to, is that it has been exceeded and overborne for a long time by the men of action, the impatient and thoughtless spirits of the party; that it had ceased to represent republican opposition, and consequently its articles and suggestions can no longer be received as truly reflecting the ideas of that faction. Usually, these parties wait the moment of triumph to disunite; but that of the republic had already deposed its first leaders, and had rapidly transferred the power of the men of the "National" and "Precursor" to the "Tribune" and the "Gleaner." Let the elements of the party be judged by this proceeding, and let it no more be said that they do not repeat an earlier policy, that they do not re-commence a second time, and in the same manner, the scenes enacted before. But the second republic would assuredly not resemble the first; it would be less glorious and enduring. You would find, on the same occasion, the same

patriots who, filled with enthusiasm for the movement ■ 1789, abandoned it only on the last extremity. From the first day you would have been governed solely by men of low repute, who would have hurried to display their senseless dreams, in compensation ■ ■ permanence ■ ■ grandeur of which their reign would have presented no traces.

Let us hope that this last madness will detach from the anarchical party ■ ■ distinguished ■ ■ ■ ■ who ■ ■ it the support of their names, but who must find themselves ill placed there, and probably but little appreciated. Let them compare, in the revolt of Lyons, the conduct of their partisans with that of the authorities. On the one side, every kind of insult and violence; on the other, the patience and moderation which belong to firmness. Some have reproached M. de Gasparin with not having seized every opportunity of chastisement and repression. It was because he wished to leave on the factions the entire odium of such ■ contest. Moreover, not ■ voice has been raised to attribute the conflict to the provocations of power; ■ a time when every sort of calumny found free vent, no one has invented this.

Neither has it ■ ■ been pretended that the explosion was to be assigned to some incidental or unlooked-for circumstance; it is generally considered as a premeditated enterprise deliberately prepared. For a long time attempts were made to seduce the soldiers of the garrison. From the eve of the insurrection, the houses to be taken possession of, those which had cross alleys or windows commanding several streets, were marked with chalk, and ■ the moment when the struggle began at the barricade of St. John's square, the attack on the Prefecture was already attempted, and barricades were erected in every quarter of the city and suburbs; in the strongest positions, the choice of which indicated ■ careful study of the ground, and a degree of skill in strategy to which soldiers rendered due praise.

This statement replies beforehand to the insinuations of those who look upon the tumult at the court, where *Mutualists* were to be tried, as the cause of the insurrection which burst forth four days after; and attribute these disorders, moreover, to the imprudence or weakness of the administrative authority, leaving it to be understood that the latter is responsible for the blood that was shed. It is evident that ■ was in the power of no one to commence or prevent the explosion.

A few words will suffice to explain the scene ■ the Court of Justice.

The president of the tribunal and the King's attorney had conferred the previous evening with General Aymard and the Prefect, on the measures to be adopted. They insisted that no military display should surround the court, and appealed to every precedent ■ justified confidence and implied that justice should trust its strength to its own dignity, and not to the support of bayonets. The grandeur of these sentiments was appreciated, and the request the more readily acceded to, as the disposition of the *Society of Mutualists* was known, which recommended tranquillity to the work-people.

Nevertheless, the president, in spite of the arrangements of the eve, thought proper to call in soldiers to restrain the tumult, always produced by a numerous and excited crowd; he issued a requisition for ■ company of one hundred men, ■ force utterly insufficient in the midst of the multitude which encumbered the hall of the court of the Hôtel Chevreière and the square of St. John. This requisition, too, he made without previously warning the military and administrative authorities.

The picket summoned found itself therefore compromised, and almost utterly incapable of action. Its situation was the more awkward, as an incident subsequent ■ the rising of the court and relating to a witness for the prosecution unworthily

attacked, had changed the uneasiness and agitation of the crowd into active hostility. Hence arose [redacted] and [redacted] universally deplored, which [redacted] government [redacted] unable to foresee but promptly terminated.

Thus, to sum up in a few words these preliminary considerations, [redacted] Lyonsese [redacted] of [redacted] [redacted] decidedly political. It was intended to explode simultaneously throughout all France, and the single desire of attaching the cause of the operatives in silk to that of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, accelerated the appointed time. It can neither be attributed to the provocations of the local authority, nor to the effect produced by a few particular and unexpected incidents.

I now turn to the history of the six days.

The trial of the *Mutualists* was postponed until Wednesday the 9th of April, 1834. It was evident [redacted] all the world, that if the insurrection was to take place, it would break out on that day. Thus every one prepared for [redacted] after his own fashion: the peaceable inhabitants emigrated in crowds; the hackney coaches and omnibuses were insufficient for the families who sought refuge in the country. During the interval, the *Society of the Rights of Man* and the military authorities prepared their arrangements for attack and defence.

The sections were unanimous for the rising; they believed [redacted] moment to be favourable; their members felt assured that the associates of Macon, Dijon, Grenoble, and St. Etienne, to whom they had written to hold themselves ready, would second the movement. They deceived themselves as to the spirit of the departments; they expected to fire a train of powder which in a few hours would spread the flame of sedition throughout the legitimist and republican provinces, and penetrate even within the walls of the capital. But their great error [redacted] in reckoning on the soldiers. The aspect of the company of the 7th light infantry, called on Saturday to the court of trial, had confirmed them in this idea;

besides which, they quoted complacently the names of certain under-officers enrolled in the society; they spoke of letters written by the artillerymen. Finally, they beguiled themselves with a hope, which from the first onset received the most conclusive denial. The more prudent wished to delay this attack until the sentence was passed; but it was remarked that by commencing so late, they would be in danger of not completing, within the day, the movement which should imprison each corps in the quarter where it was stationed, isolate the remainder of the garrison, interrupt their co-operation, and prevent any single command from regulating their action. When night fell, it would be impossible to keep the combatants at their posts, and the soldiers would profit by this circumstance to regain their positions and re-establish their interrupted communications.

These remarks decided the majority; it was settled that the attack should commence at eleven o'clock, after the judges had opened the session. As to the plan of operations, I have already glanced at them. A first line of barricades was to be erected once in every quarter of the city; the approaches to these were to be defended by firing from the windows and roofs, and during that time, a second line, better fortified, and more difficult to carry, would offer a fresh obstacle to the soldiers, in case they should succeed in forcing the first.

The insurgents were well supplied with powder, obtained by smuggling from Switzerland; and in addition, more was to be made in several quarters, after a receipt published by the "Gleaner," a few days before. Bullets were not wanting, but muskets were deficient. Many members of the society were instructed to traverse the neighbouring townships, and to disarm the national guards. A post was assigned to each section, and the work being thus distributed, they waited impatiently for the moment of action.

On his part, General Aymard made preparations; he

issued [redacted] to the generals and commandants of corps; he ordered the officers to inspect carefully the localities in which they might be required to act; he supplied the principal forts and barracks with provisions and [redacted]

His plan so [redacted] coincided [redacted] that of [redacted] insurgents, that he also thought of dividing, isolating, and impeding all combination in their movements. On both sides the importance of this operation was fully estimated, and to which the [redacted] of [redacted] city wonderfully contributed: [redacted] was understood that the party would win which should preserve its own communications [redacted] interrupting those of the enemy. Now, this great result was obtained from the first day by the troops, who carried the nearest barricades, and instantly occupied the positions which the general had assigned to them.

These positions were as follows:—

The first corps, commanded by General Fleury, extended from the barrier of St. Clair to the barrier of Serin, following the ramparts which separate Lyons from the Croix-Rousse, [redacted] occupied the barrack of the Bernardina. The second corps, established [redacted] the Hôtel de Ville, defended the line of the bridge of La Feuillée, of the Terreaux, and of the bridge of Morand. It was under the orders of Colonel Dietmann, of the 27th regiment of the line, who fulfilled the duties of commandant of the place.

General Buchet directed the third corps, which separated Bellecour de Perrache from the rest of the city, extending from St. John to La Guillotière, by the bridge of the archbishop's palace [redacted] Place Bellecour. [redacted] Dejean commanded in the square a reserve, which traversing incessantly the wide and straight streets of Perrache, maintained tranquillity in that quarter, and secured the rear of General Aymard, whose head-quarters were established in the Place [redacted]

Thus, there were three lines of operations, intended to cut

the insurgents into four fractions, without mutual support or communication. The movement was more effectually, as the absolute prohibition of going out, by confining the peaceable citizens to their dwellings, completely isolated the armed bands who were the objects of

the dispositions of the military powers, who moreover occupied all the bridges and communications by the quays. They were determined to repulse energetically the slightest aggressive movement, but orders were given to receive the fire of the insurgents before opening on them; it was resolved to cast on them to the last moment, the odium of provoking civil war. For the rest, there was no serious fear of the result; the garrison comprised an effective force of 6,500 disposable troops; the remaining 3,500 who completed their number, were absorbed in the hospitals, or by the guards of particular posts, which completely surrounded them: there were enough to conquer, but not sufficient to insure a prompt victory. It had, therefore, become necessary to foresee all chances, and we were assured that sufficient stores of flour had been laid in to feed the Lyonnese population for nineteen days, in case the continuation of the siege and the rising of the neighbouring departments should prevent the influx of fresh provisions.

On the morning of the 9th of April, the troops of the garrison, in marching order, with supplies of ammunition and food, repaired to the different posts assigned to them. In the Place Bellecour, several battalions of infantry were drawn up, massed towards the centre of the enclosure, on the side of the promenade of the lime trees; they were flanked by numerous squadrons of dragoons and two batteries of artillery. The principal *têtes-de-pont* were occupied by pickets of infantry and cavalry, and some were defended by the *garde nationale*. The Hôtel de Ville was surrounded by an imposing force; the troops in the *faubourg* of the Bernardins were

ready to move. The approaches to the Court of Justice were guarded by the 7th regiment of light infantry, who had asked to be placed in the first line to wipe out the suspicions which had been cast upon their fidelity. They were posted chiefly in the court of the archbishop's palace.

At eleven o'clock, the Prefect took post in the gallery of the church of St. John, in front of the Hôtel de Chevière, in which the correctional tribunal proceeded with the trial of ■■■■■. He was accompanied by Messrs. Faye, counsellor of Prefecture, Casenove, assistant, and Chinard, municipal adviser, who never quitted him for a moment during the six days; he wished to judge with his own eyes of the necessity and moment for repression. The square of St. John was silent and solitary; it was evident that the assailants intended to show themselves in mass; the sections of the *Rights of Man* were collected in their localities.

At half-past eleven, a troop arrived, a proclamation was read, and barricades were thrown up at the different angles of the square. At the same moment a general insurrection took place throughout the whole city.

The Prefect immediately apprised General Buchet of what had taken place, and ordered him to attack the barricades. The general moved out the troops from the archiepiscopal palace, and marched upon that obstructing the entrance to St. John street. A pistol-shot was fired on the soldiers; the colonel of gendarmes, Camusat, ordered a platoon to retort; it was followed by the 7th light infantry; the barricade was carried, and the insurgents took to flight.

Another barricade was erected in the Place Montazet, ■■■ the entrance of the street of the Priests. The Prefect repaired thither in person, with a section of voltigeurs; they were assailed by a shower of stones, and a well-dressed young man, standing on the flight of steps that commands the street, recognising M. de Gasparin as Prefect, hurled against him an enormous paving-stone, which only missed its mark by a

few lines. Meanwhile the soldiers hesitated to engage in this narrow defile. Then the lieutenant ascended the flight of steps with a few men, cleared it of those he found there, and the [redacted] barricade was occupied by the soldiers. In revenge, shots were fired from the windows, which marked the tactics of the insurgents, who in no quarter held their ground against the troops, but contented themselves with a war of attics and chimneys.

The assailants, driven from the square of St. John, retired to the bridge of the Exchange, defended on both sides by a strong barricade, [redacted] General Buchet [redacted] marching to dislodge them, when he saw that in passing from one barricade to another his force became dispersed, and a fire was opened upon his rear. He halted, and fell back on the right bank of the Seine, to the height of the prison of Roanne, where he intrenched himself.

But even before the first engagement in the quarter of St. John, a bold attempt was made, without success, in the Place Confort. An immense crowd, whose hostile intentions soon placed themselves beyond doubt, assembled before the hôtel of the Prefecture; the secretary-general, M. Alexandre, hastened at the approach of the tumult to close the iron gates; the picket of twenty-five men, on guard at the hôtel, drew up a few paces behind, in the court. Speedily, armed men possessed themselves of the planks of the temporary theatre to construct barricades, and shelter themselves, in case troops should file into the square; others prepared ladders and began to ascend them; the Prefecture was on the point of being carried, when General Dejean, who had been apprised by the son of the secretary-general, through the firing, despatched to the square a company of grenadiers of the 6th regiment. The insurgents took refuge in the temporary theatre, where they were able to intrench themselves; one amongst them less active in flight was killed by a bayonet thrust, on the ladder where he still lingered.

At the same moment, fresh troops despatched by General Aymard to this important point, marched into the square ; a few cannon shots fired from the quay, by the new street of the Prefecture, dislodged the rebels shut up in the theatre ; nothing remained but to silence a tolerably brisk fire from the windows, and particularly from the organ gallery. A cannon was brought up, which opened a passage for the soldiers, and some voltigeurs, at a charging pace, arrived at the other end of the street, at the same moment ; a few men fell in this perilous passage, but the object was attained, and the gallery occupied.

Beyond that locality is an accumulation of narrow, winding streets, into which it was difficult and dangerous to pursue the insurgents. Nevertheless, General Buchet penetrated boldly into them ; a combat ensued in the street of the hospital, and principally near a house entirely filled with skirmishers. To force an entrance into it, a petard was placed under the street door, but in exploding it set the whole building on fire, and as an extremely dry wind blew from the north, a general conflagration was apprehended. In fact, the fire communicated itself to the opposite house ; but the engines from the hospital and prefecture arrived in time to check greater calamities ; soldiers and insurgents laboured together to subdue the flames. As soon as that object was accomplished, all resumed their respective places, and the combat began again.

The day ended in that quarter by a sharp, well-sustained discharge upon the quay of the Rhône. The head of the bridge du Concert was briskly attacked ; the soldiers intrenched in the pavilions of the bridge and extended in skirmishing order along the quay of Bon-rencontre, kept up an unremitting fire on all the abutting streets, and forced back the insurgents who attempted to issue from thence. But towards night this post, being completely isolated on the side of the head-quarters of the rebels, and exposed to be carried by

them, was abandoned. Some pieces of artillery placed on the opposite bank battered that portion of the quay. ■■■ communications on the right bank of the Rhône were completely interrupted.

At the Terreaux, Colonel Dietmann had not remained inactive; he carried a barricade erected at the corner of the Place des Carmes and that of La Boucherie. Following up his advantages, ■■■ advanced towards the Place de l'Herberie, where a petard applied to the door of a house destroyed the fronts of all the surrounding shops, and broke nearly every pane of glass in the quarter. ■■■ being compelled to make front ■■■ north, towards the river banks ■■■ Place Sathonay, Colonel Dietmann was not able to penetrate further to the south than the stone bridge, and his communication with ■■■ line of Bellecour by the quay of the Saône, remained doubtful throughout the night and a portion of the next day.

The ■■■ ■■■ equally sharp ■■■ the Croix-Rouge. A barricade formed in front of the barrack of the Bernardins was taken in flank and carried by General Fleury, who killed a great number of the insurgents. From that moment ■■■ ■■■ ceased ■■■ side; the Croix-Rouge remained silent, but still occupied by the enemy. General Fleury employed the rest of the day in cannonading the quarter of St. Paul with several pieces of artillery placed in the barrack of the Chartreux.

During this time, the tocsin continued to sound from the steeple. Republican proclamations were read and distributed in all the insurrectionary quarters. They contained in substance the forfeiture of Louis-Philippe, and the appointment ■■■ Lucien Bonaparte as first consul.

Everywhere the troops had exhibited a resolution truly admirable; everywhere they waited for the fire of the insurgents, and replied without a moment's hesitation. ■■■ was related of a soldier of the 6th light infantry, a regiment

partly composed of Lyonnese, that on arriving at the square of the Prefecture, he called out to his mother, "Shut your window, we are going to fire;" and then fired with the rest.

In recapitulating the results of this first day, we shall find that the enemy, divided upon every point, and pressed closely within the quarters he still held, occupied St. George's, where the first attacks had driven him, the Exchange, the quay of Bondy, and that of Bourgneuf, on the right bank of the Saône. On the same bank the troops held their ground from St. John to the prison of Roanne.

Between the rivers the insurgents were cut up into four fragments; at Perrache, the width of the streets prevented them from establishing themselves in force; they occupied the neighbourhood of the hospital and of the Place des Cordeliers. The houses which line the quay St. Vincent, St. Polycarp, and the banks, were in their power. In conclusion, they were prisoners, but armed, in the Croix-Rousse.

The three lines of General Aymard maintained a perfectly free communication by the left bank of the Rhône, the bridge of La Guillotière and the bridge Morand.

These results were not gained without considerable loss. The soldiers, unaccustomed to this kind of warfare, fired without cover on the enemy concealed in the houses; it became necessary to change tactics, and to surround them; to profit, moreover, by the advantage which artillery afforded of sparing blood, by forcing the houses that resisted most. This plan was adopted on the following days, and the casualties of the troops were sensibly reduced in consequence.

It was hoped that the calm interval of the night, and the success of the operations of the preceding day, would have recalled to their senses that part of the population which the factions had led astray. But on the 10th, at early daybreak, the tocsin sounded again in all quarters of the city, and it was evident that the battle was not yet finished.

This second day was entirely occupied in securing and

clearing the positions conquered on the eve. Partial successes re-established communications with the Hôtel de Ville on the side of the Saône. The great communication by the left bank of the Rhône, intercepted for the moment by the insurrection in La Guillotière, was equally restored. In the interior of the city, the different lines were employed in extinguishing the fires that annoyed them, and in establishing themselves more at ease in their quarters: care was taken in these various operations not to expose the soldiers as on the preceding day, and artillery was constantly brought into play. The sound of cannon reverberated without interruption, and the action, less sanguinary than before, seemed even more terrible to the inhabitants inclosed within their houses.

On their side, the insurgents completed their movement by raising up the quarters which, to that time, had remained passive. St. Just, La Guillotière, Vaise, the quarter of the Botanical Garden, and that of the great quay, bristled with insurgents. The barracks of Bon Pasteur, situated above the Botanical Garden, and abandoned by the troops according to arrangement, was forthwith occupied by the assailants. Red or black flags, bearing on one side, "Liberty, public order," and on the other, "The Republic or death," were displayed on that day or the morrow on the church of St. Polycarp, upon Fourvières, on the Antiquaille, and on the steeples of St. Didier, and St. Bonaventure.

Thus, both sides occupied themselves in resting, in securing and planning their positions.

From daybreak, General Aymard had ordered the bridges of Morand, of Concert, of La Guillotière to be supplied with cannon. These precautions had for their object the maintenance of the principal communication on the left bank of the Rhône, and to facilitate the arrival of a convoy of ammunition expected from Grenoble, and reinforcements looked for from the South.

The delay of these reinforcements, and the bad feeling which already manifested itself in La Guillotière, seemed to the evacuation of the quarter of St. John, the troops in which might be so advantageously employed elsewhere: but the fear of the moral effect which any retrograde movement would infallibly produce, prevented this idea from being entertained; it was therefore confined to issuing an order for the small garrison of Fort St. Irénée to fall back upon Bellecour. When night came, that post was abandoned in rear of the enemy, and where the possible success of a movement on St. Etienne might have compromised it; after having spiked their guns, the garrison reached headquarters by St. Foy and the bridge of La Mulatière.

The quarter of Perrache attempted also insurrection: in the vicinity of the manufactory of snuff this movement assumed the most serious aspect. The dragoons repaired without delay, and promptly restored.

But the existence of the bridge of Chajourne, at the extremity of which the insurgents of St. George's kept up a continual interchange of musketry with the troops, menaced the quarter of Perrache: it was a troublesome diversion in the rear of headquarters. During the evening, an enormous boat filled with hay was moored against the bridge, and then set on fire. After burning for an hour, three arches sank in the river.

From early morning, batteries placed on the bridges of the Rhône, and on the promenade of Bourbon, peppered with bullets the houses on the quays de Retz and of Bon-rencontre, whence occasionally fired. A shell from a howitzer, launched against one of those houses at the corner of the street Gentil, caused a fire which nearly led to fatal consequences. For a moment it was feared that the flames would extend to the buildings of the library and the college. Anxiety and terror were at their height. For-

tunately the apprehensions were not realized, and the fire confined itself to the single roof.

During this time, an effort was made to destroy the pavilions of the bridge of Concert, which the soldiers had abandoned, and which might furnish an advanced post to the rebels. The solid construction of these pavilions rendered more tardy the progress of destruction, which occupied four pieces of artillery from eight o'clock in the morning until night-fall.

The fears inspired by La Guillotière were realized. That town joined the insurrection. The houses at the head of the bridge opened fire on the soldiers. A grand communication was cut: it was necessary to re-establish it at any cost. Smart replies of musketry were kept up upon the insurgents in the nearest windows, cannon and howitzers placed along the promenade of Bourbon, launched numerous projectiles on the suburb. A house caught fire, and the flames, urged by the wind, spread amongst the neighbouring buildings with appalling rapidity. Then the fire of musketry slackened, and soon ceased altogether. The general, who had no troops to spare to occupy the suburb, was obliged to content himself with a promise from the inhabitants to prevent thenceforward any renewal of hostilities.

Towards evening, several discharges were heard from Fort Lamotte, which during this and the following days was occupied in clearing the great roads to Marseilles and Grenoble of Dauphinese plunderers, who had hastened to Lyons. Several rounds of cannon-shot were fired against the bell-tower of La Guillotière, from whence the tocsin was continually sounding.

At the Terreaux, the first operation was to occupy the balcony and the pavilions of the Hôtel de Ville and of the palace of St. Pierre; from thence the riflemen of the line, by their fire the shots fired from roofs at a certain distance. Several houses filled with insurgents were stormed by the soldiers. The next care was to dislodge the enemy from the

neighbourhood of the ~~the~~ of the Terreaux and the quay St. Vincent. By this movement, also, the interrupted communications with the military bake-house and the powder-magazine were re-established.

Soon after, an expedition, more important still, was directed towards the Place Sathonay, the approach to which was defended by a stout barricade; it was essential to retake that post and the Botanical Garden. A company of grenadiers of the 27th marched upon the place. Colonel Monnier of the 28th commanded them in person. Already twice wounded since the commencement of the insurrection, he fell pierced by a mortal stroke at the moment when the barricade was carried by his men.

This brave soldier had left Lyons on the 7th to visit his family at Grenoble; on Tuesday he heard that his regiment might be engaged on the following day. He retraced his steps on the instant, and found in the streets of Lyons the end of a glorious career, devoted to the last moment to combating the enemies of France.

At the Croix-Rouge, the barracks of the Bernardins had been newly attacked; the fire of artillery and musketry continually echoed from that quarter. During the night, messages were sent to the contractor at Serin. Convoys of provisions re-victualled the troops at the Bernardins, at the Terreaux, at Bellecour, and in the forts. It was necessary to fight to reach the magazines and return from them; and soldiers were wounded.

Throughout this day, so full of disorder, of movement and noise, public criers disseminated with much difficulty, in the quarters occupied by the troops, the following proclamation:

"Inhabitants of Lyons!

"Our efforts to avoid a collision have proved vain; the seat of justice has been attacked by the factious, and we have seen ourselves reduced to the necessity of making it respected by arms.

"In all quarters our troops have conducted themselves with admirable courage and loyalty; everywhere the insurgents have taken to flight, and have been unable to resist ~~the~~ charge, except by concealing themselves in houses, from whence they have been dislodged as often as it was judged desirable to drive them out.

"Confined within a narrow compass, the revolt cannot maintain itself; divided on all points of their communications, looking in vain for reinforcements from the neighbouring towns, whose tranquillity they have been unable to disturb, they will soon be compelled to submit.

"Have then confidence in your magistrates, whose solicitude is entirely centered in alleviating the misfortunes they have been unable to prevent; have confidence in the ability and zeal of the generals, and in the attitude and courage of our brave soldiers, and your city will soon be delivered from the passing troubles to which it has been exposed.

"GASPARIN,

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône.

"*Lyon, April 10, 1834.*"

On the 11th of April, nothing important was undertaken by the troops; the general waited for reinforcements to extend his operations; besides it was necessary to make reconnoissances in the revolted quarters, and thus prepare for the decisive and general attack intended for the following day.

Meanwhile the cannonade never relaxed, and the houses on the quay de Retz continued to be battered by the artillery placed on the left bank. In the interior of the city, the soldiers silenced all neighbouring fire that annoyed them; petards continued to assist them in forcing the houses occupied by the enemy; they began also to understand this new species of warfare. After the example of their opponents,

they mounted on the roofs, concealed themselves behind the chimneys, took post in the highest points of the city, on the terrace of the archiepiscopal palace, on the dome of the Hôtel de Ville, on the tower of the Prefecture; and from these elevations they swept the tops of the houses to a considerable distance. In the streets also, they learned to protect their advance by barricades; they were seen to place in requisition the carts and materials that fell in their way, and which they carried to strong points, escorted by other troops with levelled muskets.

At two in the morning the first engagement took place. The insurgents of the quarter of St. Bonaventure attempted to force a passage upon different points; they were repulsed by a combined fire of cannon and small arms. This fusillade and the discharges of artillery, the horror of which was augmented by the silence of the night, recalled to the inhabitants of the quarters surrounding the Terreaux the second of November, 1831, when the garrison effected its retreat.

A few hours later, the bridge of La Mulatière was attacked; and at the same moment the quarter Perrache continued to rise, and the isolated soldiers were disarmed by groups of rebels. Everything led to a belief that the insurgents of Lyons waited the arrival of those from St. Etienne, to attempt a more general effort; and, in fact, the news received from the last-named town was not encouraging. The escort of the baggage of the 6th light infantry had been disarmed on the road leading to that place.

I have said that the fort of St. Irénée had been evacuated on the night between Thursday and Friday; the revolted of St. Just had occupied it since; they succeeded in unspiking one of the guns; they placed it on the terrace of Fourvières, and from thence endeavoured to discharge bullets and stones against the head-quarters at Bellecour. But their projectiles generally fell short. They were answered by two

twenty-four pounders, which had been brought into the square, and overwhelmed with shot the terrace on which the inexperienced artillerists of the enemy themselves.

the impatience of the inhabitants reached its height. Shut up in their houses for three days, they became indignant at the apparent timidity of the general, whose true position they were unacquainted with; they wanted the troops to advance and bring the rebellion to a close. All previous riots and revolutions had lasted three days; they considered that the present revolt ought not to be allowed to exceed that term.

These outcries and complaints had no effect on the plans of the military authorities. But permission to go abroad was granted during two hours to women only: they besieged the bakers' and butchers' shops to recruit their exhausted provisions; supplies of the most urgent necessity were still abundant, but those of secondary want were exhausted.

Some loyal citizens had offered to take arms and the troops: General Buchet, to whom their proposals were made known, hastened to accept them. promised muskets and great coats. This civic guard might have been employed to preserve tranquillity in the quarters already occupied; it might have replaced the regulars in the least exposed posts, and have left them free to act in advance. Unfortunately, few persons took part in this voluntary enrolment; a result which must be attributed to the isolation of the inhabitants, without mutual understanding, as also without communication with the authorities.

Towards three o'clock the prefect published this proclamation:—

"Inhabitants of Lyons,

"The continuance of the painful state to which the city of Lyons is reduced arises from a small number of rebels, who force their way into the houses, and recommence firing in cer-

tain quarters. In this state of affairs, to allow complete circulation would be to give the enemy the facility of changing position, of communicating with each other, and of spreading confusion in all [REDACTED]. But to diminish this restraint, which does not arise from the authorities, but from the disorders which the inhabitants have been unable to oppose with energy, permission, as far as possible, is granted for the free passage of women.

"The town of La Guillotière has well appreciated this state of affairs, and the inhabitants, who suffered so much yesterday from the military measures adopted to subdue the revolt, have compelled the rebels to cease firing, and have thus reconquered their tranquillity.

"Learn to imitate them; seek to communicate in every street and quarter with your neighbours, to prevent the violation of your houses, your being exposed to the risks of military operations, [REDACTED] destruction they [REDACTED]. All will then change in a moment, and you will be restored to your ordinary pursuits and habits.

"Listen to the voice of authority, which, after having so long hesitated to reply to provocations, points out to you the true methods of putting an end to disorder.

"GASPARIN,

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône.

"Lyons, April 11, [REDACTED]"

Although comparatively calm, Friday [REDACTED] throughout disturbed by the report of musketry and artillery; but people had begun to familiarise themselves with these continual discharges. Braving the prohibition and the danger, groups of curious idlers assembled on the quay of St. Clair, to watch the cannonade directed against the Place [REDACTED] Concert. At night the soldiers lit fires of charcoal, and bivouacked at the corners of the streets: some constructed huts of planks, others slept in the open air, maintaining admirable gaiety and patience,

despite the dangers and privations of all kinds by which they were assailed during those deplorable days and long nights, which cold and snow rendered still more unendurable.

The day of the 12th of April proved decisive for the triumph of order. The firing, which continued through the night at lengthened intervals, resumed, towards morning, in intensity. The troops on one side, and the insurgents on the other, held nearly the same positions as on the eve; only the number of the latter and the vivacity of their fire seemed to diminish.

But an unfortunate accident seemed to destroy the hopes entertained. While a first demi-battalion of from Drôme arrived at Fort Lamotte, La Guillotière, which had always continued under suspicion, re-commenced firing. The great line of communication again became compromised. Added to which, we were not quite sure of Grenoble, and particularly of St. Etienne, where the success of the workmen might supply arms to all the disaffected who required them, and multiply tenfold the ranks of sedition.

In this state of things, a deplorable alternative presented itself to the military power. It appeared necessary either to evacuate the quarters of St. John, of Parrache and Bellecour to occupy the revolted suburb, or to destroy it completely. Hesitation could not be indulged; every movement in retreat, though only seeming such, was to be rejected under risk of infinitely augmenting the audacity and number of the rebels. These reasons were justly estimated by the general and the prefect, who issued the following summons:—

Lyons, April 12, 1834; 8 o'clock in the Morning.

"To Mayor, Substitutes, Municipal Counsellors, principal Inhabitants of La Guillotière.

"Gentlemen,

"The prolonged continuance in your town of a knot of rebels, whom you suffer there from weakness, does not allow

the general to hesitate on the measures to be adopted for the prompt reduction of the suburb. He has therefore instructed me to announce to you, that if you do not, in four hours from this time—that is, at ten precisely—by the energy of your inhabitants, place the leaders of the rebels in his hands, the fire will immediately be renewed from Fort Colombier and from the city, and will not cease until his demands are complied with.

"I have thought it my duty to apprise you of the coming danger; the general waits only a single answer; the suspension of fire depends on compliance with his conditions. There can be no further negotiation, but prompt and vigorous action if you wish to avert the destruction of your town.

"GASPARIN,

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône."

To this summons, M. de Gasparin added a letter for the commissary of police of La Guillotière, calling upon him to use his utmost efforts to induce the inhabitants to adopt this wise resolution. But these despatches, which a devoted agent had the courage to bear to the insurgent suburb, could not be delivered. The mayoralty was occupied by the rebels, and the commissary of police was not found at home.

Nevertheless, there was a reluctance to adopt measures until all others had been tried. Perhaps La Guillotière might be carried without the loss of many men. General Aymard determined to send into the suburb a strong reconnoitring party. Under his own eyes the first battalion of the 21st of the line threw themselves into the principal street with astonishing resolution and impetuosity. They met but a feeble resistance, rapidly reached the square of the church, and killed many rebels there. At the same time, the demi-battalion arrived from Drôme, entered La Guillotière, which it was instructed to occupy. This serious affair ended thus; and its success was more prompt, more complete, and, above all, less dearly bought than was at first expected.

Orders were then immediately given to General Buchet to carry the head-quarters ■■■ On enemy, ■■■ St. Bonaventure. One must be acquainted with this quarter of Lyons to estimate the full difficulty of the attempt, and the skill with which the positions of the rebels had been chosen. Between St. Bonaventure and St. Nizier, there are only narrow, winding streets, where ■ few men might stop an army; while in advance, on the quay of the Rhône, is the Place du Concert, a sort of funnel, in which assailants will always hesitate to engage. But the attack had been long prepared, ■■■ the Place du Concert ■■■ by artillery. General Buchet himself had drilled the soldiers to the war of attic windows and ambuscades in which they were about to engage. Present everywhere, he posted one, set an example to another, and encouraged all. Finally, a barricade had been established by the troops near the square of the cheese-factory, which on the preceding days had been the theatre of several combats.

The insurgents were placed in ambuscade in the church of St. Nizier, and intrenched in ■ house opposite to the street Sirène. Their retreat was open to the rear by the small alleys which abut on the quarter of the Cordeliers, —the very centre of the insurrection. They kept up a tolerably brisk fire on the entrance to the street Sirène, to prevent the troops from deploying. The soldiers took care not to waste their lives fruitlessly, by exposing themselves without cover to the shots of their enemies, always invisible. They glided from house to house, taking post on the roofs, sheltering themselves behind the casements, and from thence directed a sharp fire against the buildings occupied by the ■■■ Thus, by degrees, they established themselves in the church of St. Nizier, tore down the black flag, and replaced it by the tricolor, which displayed itself on the nave. At this sight the soldiers rent the air with shouts of "Long live the King!" and struck up the "Parisienne," an air conse-

crated to the memories of civil war and the triumphs of legal order.

The attack on the Place des Cordeliers and the church of St. Bonaventure was crowned with similar success; they were reached at the same time from different sides, and the new cloister of St. Méry carried at a charging pace. The description can convey an idea of the strange and appalling aspect presented by the church when the gates were burst open. There was the bewildered crowd, which, seeking an outlet and finding none, reeled under the fire of the soldiers; the blood, the arms, the piles of ball and ammunition; the apparatus of war collected in the vaults of the church; and in the midst of all, the altar, arranged as usual, and respected by both parties! The spectacle was fearfully incongruous.

On the other side, Colonel [redacted] pushed his advantages vigorously in the quarter he occupied. A barricade placed at the corner of the street of the great bank of the river, impeded the soldiers for a time, but they finally made themselves masters of it. They then moved in the direction of the butcher-market of the Terreaux, and dislodged the insurgents posted in the windows of the quay de Bondy, facing the church of St. Louis, who for two days had actively annoyed the post on the quay of La Feuillée. A company occupied the unfinished house in front of the foot-bridge of St. Vincent; another took post at the angle of the square of the butcher-market; the riflemen covered the fire of the two pieces of artillery. The guns on the terrace of the Carthusians were directed on the same point; a sustained discharge of two hours silenced that of the rebels; the Hôtel of the Red Hat, which [redacted] [redacted] a redoubt, [redacted] [redacted] with bullets, [redacted] nearly destroyed.

While these different affairs were taking place in the heart of the city, the suburb of Vaise requested General Fleury to drive out the bands by which it was infested.

From the preceding evening, some of the insurgents had

commenced firing against the veterinary school, occupied by a detachment of infantry and a picket of dragoons; others, collected in the nearest houses of the suburb, endeavoured by an unremitting fire to intercept the communications with the baking establishment and the powder magazine. In this quarter were the greater number of the ill-conducted men from Algiers, drafted into battalions of discipline, who, having disarmed their escort, had joined the rebels and directed their movements.

General Fleury determined to carry the suburb by open force; with this object a leading column, commanded by Captain Vien, and composed of two companies of the 15th light infantry, and a company of sappers of the engineers, formed in front of the bake-house, crossed the bridge of Serin and marched by Pierre-Seize, to occupy the heights which command the veterinary school. They dispersed a band bearing away one of the guns from Fort St. Irénée, and retook it from them. Having reached the most elevated ground, the head of the column made a signal previously arranged, and in a few minutes afterwards, the second column, consisting of two companies of the 15th light infantry, four of the 28th of the line, and a detachment of sappers, issued from the same point, entered Vaise, and carried the five barricades erected in the main street. During this time, two six-pounders placed on the ruins of Fort St. John opened upon the houses of the suburb, from whence musket-shots were seen to issue. Speedily the insurgents, who retired before the soldiers, while firing from the houses and corners of the streets, were met by the first column, which inflicted on them some additional loss. Twenty minutes after the signal, the two columns united in the square of the Pyramid. This operation, conducted with extraordinary vigour and precision, cost the lives of a certain number of soldiers and officers. Nearly all the Algerine drafts perished; the entire loss of the insurgents was very

The results of the fourth day were immense. By liberating

Vaise and La Guillotière, the generals had re-opened to the mails the high roads to Paris and the South; all the anxious communities who waited with eagerness the post from Lyons, as the most certain indication of the triumph of the laws, were at last relieved. Nothing offered further opposition to the arrival of reinforcements. The rebellion, it might be said, was crushed. While the most favourable intelligence arrived from Grenoble and St. Etienne, the insurrection was driven from its strongholds. It only retained in the suburbs, the Croix-Rousse, and in Lyons the right of the Saône, and a portion of the quarters of the river banks between the Terreaux and the Croix-Rousse.

On the 13th, free egress was allowed to all the inhabitants in the quarters occupied by the troops. This was announced by the prefect in the following proclamation:—

“Inhabitants of Lyons,

“The sacred cause of law, of order, and true liberty has triumphed [redacted] walls of Lyons. Some embers of the rebellion still exist in certain quarters, but they will be extinguished to-day. This happy result has been bought with precious blood; you have experienced suffering, and privations, but which of you remembers either, in presence of the great [redacted] by the valour, constancy, [redacted] discipline of the troops?

“To terminate as soon as possible the restraint which military operations necessitated, it is decreed to-day that the free circulation of pedestrians shall be established in the city, but no stoppage can be allowed in the thoroughfares, and no assemblage of more than five persons together. But the passage of the bridges is still forbidden. These restrictions will be removed as soon as it becomes possible without compromising the operations of the garrison.

“GASPARIK,

“The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône.

“Lyons, April 13, 1834.”

Scarcely was this edict promulgated when an immense crowd inundated the streets; it was found that it might be dangerous to allow the soldiers to be thus surrounded; the menacing aspect of the popular leaders might excite a conflict. Moreover, hostilities were not terminated; the insurrection, although vanquished beyond hope, still held its positions; ■ was important to break them up.

The first operation of the day was to retake St. Just. A demi-battalion, a detachment of sappers, and fifty dragoons, were intrusted to the lieutenant-colonel of engineers, Million, who, by a bold and rapid march, moved on Fourvières by La Mulatière and St. Foy. The insurgents were driven out after a feeble resistance. Fourvières was retaken, and the red flag replaced on the tower by the national colours. At this signal, the colonel of the 7th light infantry, who commanded in the square of St John, sent forward by the new road two companies who carried a barricade, and then joined the detachment which since the 9th had occupied the Minima.

On his side, General Fleury occupied himself with clearing the quarter of the banks and the environs of St. Polycarp. By means of sap, and by penetrating several houses, he arrived without notice in the centre of the enemy: when the soldiers reached this point, a dozen drums began to beat the charge, and the insurgents, surprised, terrified, and not knowing how to account for this unexpected attack, fled in all directions. Still it was necessary to engage in several sharp combats, to complete the occupation of the space comprised between the Croix-Rousse and the town-house.

From that moment, the three lines of operation, the relative position of which at the commencement of the struggle I have previously explained, had carried out their junction on all points. That of Bellecour had joined that of the Terreaux, after the taking of St. Nizier and St. Bonaventure; the last connected itself with the division at Croix-Rousse after the liberation of St. Polycarp; there only remained exceptional

opposition at the Croix-Rouge, and in the quarters of St. George and St. Paul, to the north and east of all the different corps.

St. George's was strongly barricaded: in the night of the 13th and 14th, a column marched against that quarter by the Mulatière and the lanes; another by the ascent of the Gourguillon. All the heights were crowned. General Buchet these

On the 14th, at daybreak, the insurgents dispersed; they left a portion of their arms in the streets, into which the troops entered with drums beating. They destroyed a barricade and penetrated into the quarter of St. Paul. On no point did they encounter obstinate resistance. The Croix-Rouge alone still held out.

Reinforcements of infantry, artillery, and cavalry were sent to General Fleury, who surrounded the rebellious suburb, and proposed to starve it out, to avoid the effusion of blood. General Aymard, however, repaired to the spot, and judging that it was necessary to finish, ordered an animated attack. A warm affair followed, near the enclosure of Damon, of which the troops gained possession; but it was then late, and the complete occupation of the Croix-Rouge was deferred until the next day.

During the night, M. Puyroche the mayor, in conjunction with Messrs. Laurent, Dugas, and Sandier, ex-mayors, knowing that the greatest efforts would be made the next day to carry the entire city, endeavoured to persuade the leaders of the insurgents to renounce hopeless resistance. After a long and many efforts, these attempts to obtain a capitulation, which General Fleury neither would nor could consent to, the insurgents finally dispersed in all directions. The inhabitants themselves destroyed the barricades, and the troops on the day following were able to traverse the city without striking a blow.

Thus, the 14th of April was the last day of the republican

insurrection of Lyons. An almanack printed at St. Etienne, at the commencement of the year, has, after this very date of the 14th of April, the following letters; *V. la Rep.* A whimsical coincidence, which I give for what it is worth.

The question has often been asked, what was the number of the insurgents? and some journals, with an object easily understood, have asserted that five or six hundred men held an army in check throughout this long week. I have already stated the amount of the army, so noisily overstated: at no time, including the reinforcements that joined them during the last days, had the generals at disposal eight thousand. As to the rebels, their number constantly diminished from the commencement of the affair; but it is certain that they never amounted to less than about three thousand combatants armed with

On the day that the Croix-Rousse submitted, trustworthy returns attested that the rebels there amounted to twelve hundred; of which seven hundred only had muskets in serviceable order. With such forces, and in a city like Lyons, they might have held out longer than they did.

It was calculated that the insurgents lost about 500 men in killed and wounded; very few of the latter were taken to the hospitals; the motive of which may be readily conceived. The Hôtel Dieu received less than 150.

The losses of the troops were thus calculated:—

			5	19	24	
Soldiers	.	.	49	249		

Here is undoubtedly a considerable effusion of blood; there is to fear that the amount was much more considerable, for the soldiers fired 269,000 musket shots, and 1,729 rounds of artillery.

Some of these shots, I know, struck persons who were only guilty of imprudence, and others who had nothing whatever

to blame themselves for ; but these casualties were very rare. They were the inevitable consequence of a state of war, and can only be laid to the charge of those who brought this scourge upon our country. It must be permitted to the men who have unnecessarily calumniated every community, every class by whom they have seen themselves abandoned, to attack also the army that fought them. In their eyes the government ■ treacherous, ■ Chambers ■ sold, ■ electoral body stupid, the magistrature servile, the National ■ ridiculous; all ■ under ■ contempt. How then could the army escape? A few months ago it was cajoled; at present, it is written that the soldiers of Lyons fought like tigers; scenes are described of pillage, massacre, violation, and I know not what besides.

Let the accusations be produced; let the facts be stated; let the plundered shops be pointed out; let the persons murdered in cold blood be named; and let courts-martial do justice on the criminals. But the accusers intrench themselves behind general charges; they have not forgotten Basil: *Calumniate, calumniate; something will always stick.*

No; the glory of our defenders is pure; no excess sullied it; their patience was as remarkable as ■ courage. We have heard of the dragoons, who having accidentally wounded a young man at Perrache, subscribed each a day's pay to repair, as much as they could, the involuntary mischief they had inflicted. A thousand similar traits might be quoted; and most assuredly, if there is any species of ■ more ■ another ■ exasperate ■ soldiers, it is a war of ambuscades in which the enemy is invisible.

It is also impossible not to render brilliant testimony to the conduct of the generals. The plan of operations was excellent, and was executed with admirable discernment, wisdom, and constancy. General Aymard, and the leaders who commanded under his orders, displayed at the same time the military and

moral courage which knows how to assume the responsibility of events, and the patience which in this case could alone assure

After passing sentence on the troops, the same organs set forth the apology of the insurgents. This is quite natural. It has been asked if any one has accused them of the slightest theft, the least disorder. I shall answer once, that they have been formally charged with both. It has been that the poor-boxes of the church of St. Bonaventure were broken open and plundered, that several shops were laid under contribution to recruit their wardrobes; that a clothier's establishment in the square of the cheesemongers had sustained by their visits a serious loss; that one of the artillerymen of Fourvières had despoiled the statue of the Virgin of three necklaces of precious stones, and taken from the vestry a sum of 8,600 francs. Are all these statements true? I cannot say. I only undertake to prove that the probity and disinterestedness of the insurgents of April were questioned by many persons.

For the rest, I am the first to acknowledge that in general they abstained from pillage. And even more;—peaceable citizens, whose opinions were well known to them, remained in the revolted quarters without sustaining the least injury, either to their persons or property. The mayor of Croix-Rousse, was permitted to descend into the street, to harangue his town's-people in arms, and inspire them with salutary. Why was this? Because the insurrection never felt sufficiently powerful to indulge in caprices. It occupied certain quarters without commanding them; tolerated rather than obeyed, it felt that excesses might turn against itself; that they might restore energy to those who had remained passive from timidity. It felt the necessity of not earning too evil a reputation. Thus, its leaders took care to maintain throughout a tolerably severe discipline.

I have said the leaders, yet nevertheless, according to custom, the true leaders have never appeared. The action was entirely directed by men of subordinate station. Amongst those who fled or were arrested there is not one of any political importance.

I have already given an idea of the kind of warfare adopted by the insurgents. It seems that they held their positions by day and night; the combatants were supplied with food by placing the neighbourhood in requisition. Money was thrown to them from the windows, and several proprietors, by paying a certain sum, protected their houses from being entered to fire from. The supplies given were very unequally

At a particular barricade it was complained that thirty-two francs alone were obtained for eighteen men, while another, prisoners were taken whose pockets were filled with money. These barricades were much admired, and General Buchet himself went to visit one with several officers, whom he recommended to take it for a model. The fact is, that those in the quarters long occupied by the enemy, those which he was able to construct and complete at leisure, were real masterpieces; nothing was wanting, not even ditches. What do I say? At the Croix-Rousse, they had the patience to collect all the snow that fell, and thus were able to fill ditches with water on an arid eminence. This was, indeed, the luxury of insurrection.

On this point, I shall quote the Bulletin of a barricade, as published by the "Precursor;" we thus find that the revolt also had its official reports. Whatever may be the distrust attached to such a document, it seems to me suitable to complete the picture of the Lyonesse insurrection.

"Wednesday, April 9.—I was compelled by circumstances to retire to the hill of the Consta- Consternation was on every face; nevertheless the workmen laboured with activity in the construction of barricades; a few armed men protected their operations. At three in the afternoon, the great

hill, the hill of the Carmelites, the bottom of the street of Flessolles, and the street of Vieille Monnaie, were in a state of defence.

"The barrack of the Bon Pasteur was taken; Meunier, assistant-surgeon of the 27th, was made prisoner by a sentry while repairing to his duties. He was taken to his residence, on parole, and summoned to dress the wounded. The workmen have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of this [redacted]. Mattresses and palliases from the barrack were carried to the barricades.

"On Thursday the 10th, at 9 in the morning, the street of the [redacted] Peres was fortified with a strong barricade; [redacted] noon, the troops showed a disposition to dislodge us, but we moved forward and took possession of the place Sathonay. The men without arms entered different houses and speedily supplied themselves. Soon after, a rolling fire issued from the windows; we had only two wounded. It was then that our comrades mounted the barricades, and maintained themselves there in military style. The barrack was instantly crenated, which preserved the Botanical Garden from attack. From that time, the cooking was established at the posts; during the afternoon the courier of the mail was arrested and taken to head-quarters; four other persons were also [redacted]. Every attention was paid to them, of which they can bear witness.

"All went on thus until Sunday the 12th, in skirmishes of musketry: at that time the following demand was addressed to the inhabitants of the quarter:—

"Citizens,

"You are invited by the friends of order and liberty to co-operate in the subsistence of your fellow-citizens who are in arms for the public cause. Several individuals of no estimation have [redacted] donations for their [redacted] profit, and we wish to prevent such infamous conduct. The chiefs

of posts are specially instructed to receive and distribute all contributions amongst the posts of the division.'

"On Monday the 13th, after five days of resistance, with-
 communications and almost without any council
 was assembled, consisting of twenty-seven citizens, to de-
 liberate on the means of retreat. The state of arms and men
 was submitted. Here follows the result:—

"Seventy had muskets for two hundred men; such were
 the means of defence. He who presided at the council made
 the following address:—

"Citizens,

"In the position in which we find ourselves in face of an
 army, resistance is useless; your courage instead of giving
 way appears to increase; you have no wish to cause the
 destruction of the families that surround you; this would
 only be so much more French blood fruitlessly shed. Hu-
 manity commands us to seek the means of an honourable
 retreat. We may retire without being vanquished; we may
 still be useful to our country; our efforts, I am convinced,
 will open the eyes of those who have not followed our ex-
 ample; but we must expect all from time. Nevertheless, if
 you wish still to resist, I should be the first to set you the
 example, and if my life could attain our object, I am ready to
 sacrifice it at the mouth of the cannon.'

"It was then decided that the retreat should be made during
 the night between the 13th and 14th. It was also settled
 to release the prisoners, so that each might return to his own
 home. After the council, the work continued at the barricades
 as if nothing was thought of but defence. We took leave
 of each other with embraces; tears fell to the memory of our
 brethren who had fallen for liberty, thus furnishing another
 lesson for the history of nations.

"P.S. In five days we have had one man killed in his own
 house and five wounded."

Such is the narrative of a barricade, related by one who has undoubtedly spared nothing to render it interesting and pathetic. Unfortunately I shall have no trouble in opposing to him others abounding even more in these features. It is in the establishments dedicated to the instruction of youth that my examples must be sought, for it appears to me that in those asylums of study and peace the apparition of civil war is more revolting and terrible than anywhere else.

On Thursday the 10th of April, the fire became brisk round the veterinary school. From the heights which command it, and extend to the west of Vaissé, they opened on the soldiers in the barrack of Serin, on the left bank of the Saône, and on those who, on the right bank, were posted at the head of the bridge, close to the school. The insurgent skirmishers occupied the enclosures of Tessot and Bourget; musket-shots soon issued from the woods which crown the garden; of this there could be no doubt; the rebels had penetrated into the park.

The director, M. Bredin, had informed the commandant of the neighbouring post [redacted] [redacted] wounded men would be attended to at the school. These wounded, while being carried to the opposite bank, were fired on, on the bridge of [redacted].

Soon after, the insurgent skirmishers descended into the wood of the school: two of them, armed with carbines, crept into the dormitories of the pupils. At that moment, the school appeared to be in great danger. M. Bredin ran to the window by which they had entered, and found the rebels alone (two young men of good bearing); but the pupils ran forward, and in their presence, the insurgents, after some resistance and threats, determined to rejoin their comrades, giving notice that fifty of them who had reached the park were about to break open the gates. Not a word was uttered by any of the scholars. A quarter of an hour afterwards, several of these skirmishers presented themselves, raggedly clothed, with

haggard eyes, and features distorted by drunkenness. One of them said roughly to the director, "Order that gate to be opened." A decisive **Non** was the only answer. "Well then we shall break **it** open," replied he, and without hesitation disappeared in the passage. One of his companions, before entering, cried out, "Do not force us to attempt your life and that of your pupils." The gate offering resistance, the rebels broke away the lock by a shot from the muzzle of a musket. They were then in the court, from whence they fired on the soldiers.

The troops, **who** **had** **been** **respecting** **an** **establishment**, were now led to believe that the school had joined in the revolt, **and** **directed** **against** **cannon** **shot**, **howitzer** **shells**, **and** **musketry** : **a** **single** **pupil** **was** **slightly** **wounded** **on** **the** **head**.

The rebels remained only an hour in the court ; **at** **the** **end** **of** **that** **time**, they abandoned it, and resumed their first post in the wood, from whence they continued to fire irregularly until evening. M. Bredin then wrote to General Aymard, asking him to place some soldiers in the school.

On the 11th, **at** **day-break**, a captain of the 28th of the line, M. Latour, arrived **at** **the** **head** **of** **thirty** **grenadiers**. Scarcely were the soldiers stationed at the windows behind mattresses supplied to them, when the pupils exhibited great uneasiness, and renewed much more urgently than on the previous day, a request to leave the school. Captain Latour, who observed with coolness and resolution the state of these youths, **con-** **sidered** **his** **soldiers** **unsafe** **while** **in** **the** **school** **of** **140** **young** **southern** **heads**. At his request the director addressed the following letter to General Aymard :—

"General,

"I entreat you to give orders, either that the detachment of thirty men placed in the school this morning should be more advantageously posted, or trebled in number, for our house is

commanded by the wood occupied by the workmen, and from whence ■ would be easy to dislodge them by Pierre-Seize. ■ captain sees, with me, the extreme uneasiness of our 140 pupils, who yesterday restrained the rebels from entering their rooms by promising that the soldiers should not come ■ I pray you also to send us ration bread, which the school will pay for."

The firing continued all day, and two rebels were killed in the park.

In the afternoon, a great tumult arose suddenly throughout the house; piercing cries of rage and indignation issued simultaneously from all points. M. Bredin ran to the hall where he ■ established the grenadiers ■ dragoons; the pupils in a body were endeavouring to enter. Captain Latour ■ the head of ■ dozen soldiers under arms, peremptorily forbade them. "Mr. Director," said he, "if you do not instantly order your scholars to retire, I shall fire upon them. Two of their comrades have been seized in the act of firing on us, and the youths fraternize with them, taking them by the hand, and endeavouring to tear them from ■ soldiers." The director ordered the scholars to retire, and demanded of them an explanation of this tumult; on both sides there were mistakes: the prisoners were not pupils of the school. There was no intention of shooting them, as the pupils had at first imagined.

During the afternoon, the insurgents of Vaise flung from the top of an old bastion of the Maison Teuot, two casks filled with lighted combustibles, which set fire to some brambles in M. Bourget's field, from which they expected, as we afterwards learned, that the north wind would spread the conflagration to the school. The fire speedily went out, for want of nourishment.

The chief commissary served out ration bread; a cow also was killed: a repast was provided for the soldiers; wine

was furnished to them, and they supped in the hall of the pupils.

Finally, on Saturday the 12th, the insurgents who occupied the table-land of the park were dislodged by the dragoons, who ascended by the paths through the wood, and by other soldiers from the side of [REDACTED]. In their hasty retreat they abandoned a piece of artillery they had not used.

The history of the royal college, even more dramatic than that of the veterinary school, deserves to be related with some details.

On the 10th of April, the fire recommenced, and various reports were in circulation: they disturbed without creating despondence, and were little credited. The insurgents occupied the square of the college and the abutting streets as far as their head quarters in the Place des Cordeliers, close to the royal seminary.

The college was in the line, and seemed to be one of the objects of the fire of the troops encamped on the left bank of the Rhône, who were harassed by that of the insurgents, who occupied that quarter of the city. Cannon and grape-shot had fallen within the dormitories, the other rooms, the courts of the scholars, and also in the apartments of the functionaries of the college and academy.

Arrangements were made to shelter the scholars from danger. Letters were written to the general and the mayor, entreating them to spare that establishment. One of the masters, braving all peril, took charge of these despatches.

The houses near the college in the Rue Gentil took fire: the conflagration threatened to spread, and reached the college itself; communication could only be carried on through the shower of bullets which whistled in all directions; but through the exertions of two professors, an engine was obtained; the city sent the only one remaining, and which the mayor's secretary brought himself, not with-

out danger, and accompanied by three or four firemen. The pupils, great and small, worked it with astonishing zeal, and ardour difficult to restrain. The roofs were covered with firemen and scholars; the servants joined in the labour, but the fire became menacing. The entire building, and the public library appeared to be devoted to the flames. And to increase the calamity, cannon-shot, grape, and musketry, poured upon all who presented themselves on the roof to arrest the fire. The artillery, incessantly disturbed by the fire of the skirmishers in those quarters, as also by that from the burning houses, occupied, it was said, in the other stories, by ~~the~~ insurgents, seemed determined ~~to~~ beat down ~~all~~ before it; ~~the~~ beheld enemies even in those employed to extinguish the flames. Fresh letters were forwarded to the authorities, imploring them to stop the effects of this mistake, and to cease the cannonade and discharge of musketry, which, however, in no way checked the efforts of the functionaries and the scholars.

The fire of the troops seemed to diminish for a certain time. The conflagration still raged; a chain of 800 pupils continued their efforts; the engine was still worked by them; each emulated the other in zeal and courage. The fire approached the quarters of the professors, and the pupils, moved by a feeling of honourable attachment, hastened, not without danger, to dismantle the apartments. All was done rapidly, but without confusion. The fire began to diminish; it was subdued by the ardour and intrepidity of the scholars, the functionaries and their assistants, to whom, in all probability, we owe the preservation of the college and the public library. The cannonade was resumed, and projectiles continued to fall; night came, when the fire slackened on all ~~sides~~. The scholars, after a laborious but honourable day, returned to their rooms, contented with a light supper; they bivouacked in their halls of study, the dormitories not being habitable. Cannon and grape-shot had repeatedly

penetrated them. They slept in the happy consciousness of having accomplished a noble task.

In the course of the day, the rebels endeavoured to burst open the gates of the college; they demanded the arms formerly used by the scholars in their military exercises. ■■■ prevent an attack which fruitless resistance might render terrible, the functionaries presented themselves to them; their presence and words awed the rebels, who retired without seizing any arms, or doing any mischief.

On the 11th, the night was calm; the next day promised to be active; there was no walking in the streets; the troops held their posts, and the workmen endeavoured to advance on certain points.

The square of the college seemed to have been made their place of retreat; barricades were raised there; the fire in the houses was extinguished, but the artillery continued to threaten the college; the two pavilions were pierced with cannon-shot and bullets; some also fell in the dormitories, on the staircase, and in the dining-hall. None of the pupils, and no one belonging to the establishment was wounded.

The insurgents once more presented themselves at the gates; they were disposed to assail them: the authorities caused them to be opened and appeared as before. This time the rebels came not to demand arms or shelter; they asked for the eldest amongst the scholars to be enrolled in their ranks. The unanimous reply of the functionaries was, that those youths neither could nor would leave the building; they were a deposit confided to their care, and before surrendering them, they would sacrifice their own lives. Convinced by their energetic words, or controlled by their demeanour, the rebels again retired without striking a blow.

On the 12th, the same anxious night in this quarter. Meanwhile, the barricades were almost entirely abandoned; ■■■ ■■ twelve insurgents, ■■■■■■■■ only ■■■ ■■ three, harassed from behind these ramparts the more distant posts.

This plan of tactics, it was said, was adopted by nearly all points. Judging by that, we may feel assured that the common class, the people in the circumstances, seconded the part in the insurrection; they groaned under it and allowed it to take its course, for no civil opposition had been organised.

Nothing was known as to what passed without; but reports excited an apprehension that the college might become an object of reprisal, because, as it was said, shots were fired on the troops from that establishment, by which an artilleryman had been killed; and that some of the scholars had seconded the revolt.

The Rector and the Provost wrote to the general to protest against these injurious rumours, which might have originated in the step taken by the insurgents who came to demand arms, and pupils to reinforce their ranks.

The authorities were urgently second time to give orders that the youths might not be exposed, and that if circumstances became more serious they might be permitted to remove them, and conduct them to the country house. This application also gave rise to sinister reports, to the effect that the college was surrounded by a great number of shops and stores with an entre-sol above the ground-floor, inhabited by manufacturing and labouring people; and that the fact of hostility was true, although not known to be so, must have proceeded from those localities which were never under the control of the college.

Round and grape-shot, provoked by the fire of the insurgents, fell almost in every direction. The masters became anxious for the safety of the pupils. They were removed alternately from the residences to the courts, and from the courts to the

A ball fell in the staircase on the highest story; the dust it occasioned resembled smoke, and raised an alarm of fire; all hands ran to extinguish it. A ball followed, then

a third, and a fourth. Fortunately no one was hit; but some fragments of the wall struck a scholar and a servant on the back; these contusions had no ill consequences. The pupils abandoned the residences, and could only find shelter in the class-rooms, where they remained [REDACTED] hours. It seemed that those bullets were directed against the church of the Franciscans, where the insurgents were intrenched; but had it been otherwise, [REDACTED] could only have arisen from the reports circulated, and because the rebels having also endeavoured to enter the college, it might have been thought they were established there. The difficulty of communication prevented the true state of things from being known.

Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the fire slackened; the barricades were abandoned; a flag of truce from the work-people came to the town-house; submission was spoken of; the fire then ceased, and the square was evacuated. The close of the drama was announced which threatened France with the greatest calamities. Calm ensued without, and security within the college.

Such is the summary of the events that occurred during the four days, which the vicinity of the head-quarters of the insurgents, and [REDACTED] responsibility of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] families of the scholars, rendered the more terrible.

The scholars deserve praise for their good spirit, their generous and loyal conduct. The Rector, M. Soulaacroix, the officers of the college, and their subordinates, exhibited all the prudence, courage, and discernment which a profound sentiment of duty could inspire, under such unusual circum-

I have selected two scenes from a thousand that I might have cited. Everywhere there was the same suffering, agitation, and [REDACTED]. The citizens, surprised [REDACTED] their dwellings by the prohibition to circulate, remained prisoners in the nearest houses; hospitality was claimed and given as

■ right; but what anguish arose from these unexpected separations, so cruelly prolonged! .At the asylum of St. Paul, with which the charitable cares of some ladies had endowed one of the quarters of Lyons, expedients were of necessity resorted to, to feed during five days a dozen small infants whom their mothers had been unable to visit. We shudder while thinking of ■■ anxious alarms of those families, and of the public and private calamities which weighed upon the population of the city during the conflict of April.

In the midst of the turmoil of arms, the civil government continued to show the greatest activity. M. Vachon-Imbert never quitted the town-house; M. Victor Arnaud, one of the administrators of the Hôtel Dieu, devoted himself entirely to the painful and often perilous task of directing and protecting that establishment. But in no locality was the movement more animated and incessant than at the Prefecture. There were assembled, pell-mell, the military, judicial, and administrative powers. The bar of M. Chégaray, always encumbered with prisoners, the staff of General Bugeot, the cabinet of M. de Gasparin, all united under the same roof. The courts and gardens were crowded with soldiers, whilst others occupied the house. The cellars and coach-houses were filled with captives; and aides-de-camp carrying orders crossed each other in the corridors, with couriers coming from Paris, or commissaries of police repairing to their duties, which they continued to fulfil with the utmost zeal. There was real order in all that apparent confusion.

As to ■■ inhabitants, ■ have already described ■■ position: shut up in their houses, they were reduced to a purely passive part; and they have been too sharply reproached with apathy, the principal cause of which arose from the orders of the authorities. I know that all might have displayed against the rebels in arms the firmness exhibited by a few, and which was invariably crowned with success. Let us, however, confess that ■ was not easy to prevent access to the

Lyonese houses, with their passages always open and without porters, and with their six stories principally occupied by labouring people strongly inclined to aid their brethren. What was even less easy was, to forget the past, and to have full confidence in the future.

But the towns-people of Lyons have sufficiently proved their sympathies with the efforts of the army. They have evinced ample gratitude to their defenders: abundant subscriptions in favour of the wounded soldiers, applauses in the theatre, municipal proclamations, public thanks, nothing was wanting to manifest their sentiments. I am now going to transcribe the official documents, wherein are reflected the true feelings of a city to which a totally different language has been attempted to be ascribed.

The following are the proclamations that were issued :—

" My dear Fellow-citizens,

" After the deplorable events of which we have so recently been the witnesses and victims, your first magistrate feels it his duty to call on you to participate with him in the sentiments of gratitude by which he is animated towards our brave garrison, whose heroism has saved your city from ruin, and preserved France from extreme anarchy.

" You have seen, my dear fellow-citizens, that the men who for a long time have meditated the subversion of the government of July, have not recoiled before the consequences of their chimerical projects. While organising civil war they applied themselves to mislead by false theories a population until then peaceable and industrious; and preluded this civil war by a compulsory suspension of labour, by menaces, and by violating the sanctity of justice. Why is it that until this day our efforts have been unable to conjure down the storm? Because the voice of authority, usually so well understood by the Lyonsese, has been stifled by political passions.

"Vanquished in the bosom of the capital by the events of June, the factious spirits of all the provinces have selected Lyons for their rallying point. Here, as in Paris, their criminal attempts have failed. The triumph of the friends of law and order has never been for a moment doubtful; and the struggle would have been short if the duty of husbanding the blood of our defenders had not necessitated the employment of artillery.

"For the second time our unfortunate city has become the theatre of sanguinary encounters; and the sad experience we have lately endured will teach a great future lesson to us and to all France.

"Let the population resume confidence! Let all renew the course of their ordinary avocations. We rely on the good feeling of our fellow-citizens to hasten the return of peace and order.

"Given ■■■ Hôtel de Villa, Lyons, April ■■■ 15th, ■■■

"The Mayor of the City of Lyons,

"VACHON-TIMBERT, *Substitute.*"

"My dear Fellow-citizens,

"Profoundly afflicted by the calamities that have fallen on our city, it becomes an additional duty for me to announce to you the words of peace. I trust that my voice will be heard by the whole population.

"Cannot the unfortunates who have been so cruelly misled by perfidious counsels, open their eyes this day to ■■■ truth? Will they not see by what path the abettors of anarchy have here sought to bring us back to those calamitous times, which for forty years have weighed so heavily on our beautiful country? But we are bound to say, in justification of the city of Lyons, and in due homage to truth, the mass of the working population have remained strangers to the criminal efforts which have been made to subvert the constitutional monarchy, and to substitute for the system of

law, the empire of blind and brutal force. For such a guilty enterprise, the men, who for a long time meditated your ruin, and who for the most part are strangers to the city of Lyons, and even to the soil of France, have been unable, in spite of their hypocritical grievances, to find sympathy in the midst of a population which lives by labour, and which is inseparable order. Those grievously culpable who have not feared to draw upon us civil war with its accompanying disasters! Let us leave them to their remorse and to the wisdom of the laws.

Lyonnese! our misfortunes have been great, but let peace and unity return amongst us, and time will soon repair them. We have received a terrible lesson, never to be forgotten. The foremen, and work-people of every calling, will henceforth repulse with horror all those anti-social-political ideas, which bring in their train misery and despair, overthrow all modes of existence, and tend to the utter ruin of the most industrious city of France.

"Lyons has suffered for the cause of civilization; the entire fabric of social order has, in us, been attacked. Anarchy has been subdued, and a just and redressing government cannot fail to acknowledge that France is responsible for the injuries sustained by the Lyonnese in the interest of all.

"Let confidence revive; let the inhabitants feel re-assured, let every citizen resume his habitual labour. The merchants, we feel confident, will redouble their zeal and care, under these calamitous circumstances, to give fresh activity to their commercial operations, and thus to procure employment for those who require it. We hope, in conclusion, that all our fellow-citizens will unite their efforts to ours to alleviate, as much as may be in their power, the evils we have been unable to anticipate.

"The Mayor of the City of Lyons,

"VACHON-LEROUX, *Substitute.*"

While the mayor placarded these proclamations, the municipal council voted swords of honour to Generals Aymard, Buchet, and Fleury, and to Colonel Dietmann. It also voted ~~■ ■ ■ ■ ■~~ to the troops, which the general made public, in an order of the day, thus couched:—

"Head-Quarters, Lyons, April 16, 1834.

"Order of the day of the 7th Military Division. The Lieutenant-General commanding the 7th Military Division, hastens to convey to the knowledge of the troops under his orders, ~~■ ■ ■~~ following address voted unanimously ~~■ ■ ■~~ garrison, by the Municipal Council of the City of Lyons:—

"Soldiers,

"The City of Lyons, France, and civilization, have incurred an immense danger which your valour has repulsed. After a prolonged contest, after such persevering efforts of courage of which all our members have been witnesses, the municipal council of this great and suffering city has felt the necessity of paying you the just tribute of their admiration and gratitude.

"You have conquered anarchy. You have driven ~~■ ■ ■~~ from the soil of France the anti-social principles which have already invaded it, but which never could be able to take deep root. Liberty, resting on the constitutional monarchy it has itself founded; could never perish in France but by its own excesses. It is against these excesses that you have declared war; ~~■~~ is over them that you have won the most glorious victory, ~~■ ■ ■~~ have ~~■ ■ ■~~ deserved well ~~■~~ French freedom, and of the City of Lyons in particular.

"By the Mayor of the City of Lyons,

Signed, VACHON-IMBERT."

"Accept this testimonial of gratitude from a great city; you deserve ~~■~~ Your intrepidity and perseverance ~~■ ■ ■~~ prevented a fearful disaster, and have saved France from anarchy, of all scourges the most terrible.

"Armed for the maintenance of the laws and the protection of the citizens, you have worthily fulfilled your trust. At the report of your victory, the factions so lately menacing, but now convinced of their impotence against your valour, have in all directions sought their safety in flight.

"France revives again to repose and hope. you have deserved well of your King and country.

"Signed, **BARON AYMARD.**"

On the same day, the following letter was addressed to M. de Gasparin.

"Lyons, April 16, 1834.

"Mr. Prefect,

"I fulfil with eagerness the mission confided to me by the municipal council.

"It has just met, and its first sentiment is that of gratitude towards those who have preserved our unhappy city from the horrors of anarchy.

"You, Mr. Prefect, are amongst those who have inspired this feeling most profoundly, and I am instructed to express to you the admiration my fellow-citizens entertain of your courage and devotion.

"You will, henceforward, be reckoned by the Lyonnese amongst their benefactors, since to you they owe the confirmation of their social existence, and you have so powerfully contributed to deliver them from the incalculable evils with which they were threatened.

"Deign to accept, &c.

"**THE MAYOR OF LYONS.**"

The Prefect replied as follows:—

"Lyons, April 18, 1834.

"Mr. Mayor,

"After having sought for more than two years the means of re-establishing peace and concord in Lyons, I have seen

with grief, the hope I had conceived become more and more [redacted]. The progress of the spirit of disorder, fanned by that of political societies and industrial coalitions, has been so rapid during the last year, that it was easy to foresee [redacted] to [redacted] these plots [redacted] tending. I have never deceived myself as to its imminence, and I have constantly thought with solicitude over the means of issuing victorious from the struggle, should we be reduced to the sad necessity of engaging in it.

"When, [redacted] length, we were compelled to resist the most odious of aggressions; when the seat of justice saw itself suddenly surrounded by barricades, [redacted] [redacted] same instant sprung up throughout the city, when the enclosed troops were obliged to clear a passage through the fire of musketry, treacherously prepared behind the windows and on the roofs of the city, we have had severe duties to fulfil. It was necessary to save Lyons and France; to this task I devoted myself. Two of your assistants, Messrs. Casenove and Chinard, stationed at the same post with myself, have partaken my dangers and anxiety. They have worthily represented the municipal authority in the south district of the city.

"It is most gratifying to me, after these painful moments, to receive from the municipal council of the city of Lyons, a testimony that my efforts have obtained their approbation. I trust that I may now be able to assist in alleviating the miseries we were unable to prevent. I shall dedicate myself to this new task, and you will find me always ready to support the interests of your city with the attachment of a man who has become your fellow-citizen in heart and sentiment.

"Accept, &c.

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône,

"GASPARDIN."

It was impossible but that the echo of the events [redacted] Lyons

should make itself heard in the adjacent districts. The projects of the insurgents had excited amongst them, we may safely say, universal reprobation; but that reprobation had not exhibited itself everywhere with the same energy.

Through a deplorable weakness, a certain number of townships had abandoned to the revolted bands the arms of their national guards. About three hundred muskets thus reinforced the arsenal of the rebels. I am aware that no excuses can be offered for such facts. I know that, perhaps, not a single musket could have been carried off if all had shown the same courage which [redacted] exhibited. Nevertheless, it is certain that the [redacted] tone of the Lyonsese emissaries, their numerical force, and finally the forced absence of all intelligence of passing events, and all order, sufficed to impose even on resolute men. The disarming, ordered by the Prefect, had already produced an injurious impression. I shall be silent on that subject. But to give an idea of those attempts, the success of which I deplore, I shall relate what happened in two townships where the question of superior force was too evident [redacted] my statement to [redacted] = [redacted]

At Vaise, on the 10th of April, a man of lofty stature, wearing a helmet on his head, girded with a cavalry sabre, and followed by sixty armed individuals, and the same number without weapons, presented [redacted] a [redacted] town-house, and addressing one of the secretaries, demanded if the mayor was present. Receiving an answer in the affirmative, he used nearly these words:—"I am a Frenchman and a proprietor. Indignant at the murders perpetrated upon my fellow-citizens, by the garrison of Lyons, I have taken arms to revenge them. *The dispute to-day is not about a penny a yard, but on the great question of [redacted] between Louis-Philippe and the Republic.* The Republic must triumph; in its name I demand from the mayor of Vaise arms and ammunition, which on the faith of citizens worthy of credit, he has at disposal. I summon you to deliver them to us."

It is useless to proceed further. Some muskets were delivered up; it was necessary to yield to violence.

The occurrences at Oullins call for mention here in full.

On Wednesday the sound of cannon and musketry threw the whole township into alarm; but the arrival of a [redacted] of infantry restored calmness, and the day passed quietly despite the most exaggerated accounts of success on the part of the rebels and of losses on that of the army.

These tales were rejected and denied [redacted] once by the parties attached to the government.

In the course of the day, the battalion of infantry left Oullins and marched upon Lyons, leaving behind a detachment of eighteen men.

During the night, the artillery quitted Pierre Bénite, and repaired to Lyons, without leaving behind a single man.

Throughout [redacted] whole of Thursday, the rebels driven from La Guillotière and the Brotteaux, proceeded along the left bank of the Rhône in front of Pierre Bénite, crossing the river in the direction of St. Just; they were without arms, but their faces blackened by powder, their right cheeks marked by the butt of a musket, and their language, made them sufficiently recognisable. Everywhere they proclaimed that they were victorious, and spread terror through the township.

At mid-day, a band of sixty men, partly armed, attacked and disarmed the post of infantry.

This circumstance created general alarm: this audacious disarming of soldiers so near the bridge of La Mulatière occupied by the garrison, seemed to be a certain sign that all was lost.

Efforts [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] restore failing confidence: it [redacted] proposed to make all the national guards take arms, and to lend some of their muskets to the despoiled soldiers; [redacted] most urgent attempts were without effect.

Groups of men, unknown to the district, assembled at all points; the taverns were filled; their shouts and seditious songs could no longer be suppressed; the royalists groaned, concealed. Night passed in the utmost inquietude.

On Friday, matters were in the same condition: at one o'clock a band, half armed, repaired to the acting mayor, and demanded weapons with the most insulting threats.

The commandant of the national guard was apprised that the rebels had blockaded the municipal council, and threatened to fire on them unless arms were delivered up; he hastened to the spot, and entered the square alone, where sixty men surrounded him on the instant; four only had muskets, the others, pistols, poignards, and sharpened foils.

Other armed men were in the court of the mayoralty, and in the guard-house; they had with them a soldier in uniform whom they forced to accompany them, to convey a belief that the army sympathised with the revolt.

Finally, several individuals of this band had already forced violent entry into the houses, and by intimidating women and weak men, had compelled the surrender of arms, which they loaded, and then concealed themselves in the alleys.

Not a single officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier of the national guard appeared in the square; all seemed to be lost.

The leader of the band demanded the rest of the arms in the name of the provisional republican government, declaring that Louis-Philippe was unanimously dethroned; the army fighting for him and his authorities in Lyons was surrounded, and could communicate with no one; that the republicans were masters of the telegraph, and that their guns were pointed against the place de Fourvières; the garrison was preparing to retreat by Oullins, and that the town-ship of St. Foy had delivered up its arms. He proposed not to require the remainder of the muskets until all

he had announced was verified. One of the guards was despatched to St. Foy; he returned declaring that the telegraph was broken, the fort of St. Irénée in the hands of the insurgents, their artillery on the place de Fourvières, and in conclusion that St. Foy had given up its arms.

The surrender of munitions continued during this time; but being anxious to hasten it, the leader of the band [redacted] a mint-stamp and a drum. These were refused; he then sent people to sound the tocsin; the tocsin would have done more [redacted] than the roll-call; his demand was submitted to, and he retired.

On Saturday, fresh bands traversed Peron and Pierre Bénite; but being few in number and badly armed, they met with no success. The rebels continued to pass the Rhône; no longer the same description of men. These latter were furious, and their menaces appalling; to revenge themselves [redacted] gunners, [redacted] burn [redacted] barracks, [redacted] pillage [redacted] lodgings, to massacre their wives;—such [redacted] projects they gave utterance to, and which the intended victims, partly located in the inns, either heard themselves or learnt from all quarters. Horror prevailed throughout, but despair brings back courage: the women and valuable effects were removed to a place of safety, arms were silently assumed and precautions adopted. Some misled but [redacted] work-people, to whom they appealed, swore not to allow their victory to be tarnished (they believed themselves victorious) by such awful crimes.

The night passed without events; firing continued at the Mulatière and in the Sauiées, but faintly kept up.

On Sunday, nothing of note occurred; the firing relaxed more and more at the [redacted].

On Monday, the rebels, lying in ambuscade behind the limekiln of Oullins, still kept up a fire on the soldiers; but, towards noon, they retired. We began to perceive the end of these disorders. By evening all was calm.

Finally, on Tuesday, free circulation and tranquillity were

While these lamentable scenes were in progress in the township of Oullins, that of Venissieux, which comprises part of the division of Vienne, unanimously offered to M. de Gasparin its 3,000 national guards, who had once before gone with him to Lyons. Neuville, Trévoux, and the surrounding districts, also assembled their national guards, and armed the remainder of the citizens with staves and pitchforks. The division of Villefranche rose to a man at the call of its sub-prefect, M. Silvain Blot, whose courage and activity surmounted all obstacles. The national guards of Mions and Thurins, encouraged by their commandant, repulsed the hostile bands. The mayor of Caluire provisioned fort Montessay. The inhabitants of Brignais opposed to the attempts of the insurgents a demeanour full of energy, and those of Couzon, without arms themselves, disarmed the who ventured to assail them.

It was evident that the insurrection of Lyons found in the neighbouring districts sometimes weakness, but never sympathy. Unfortunately this was not the case everywhere; in a certain number of towns, the associates of the *Rights of Man* endeavoured to support their friends of Lyons, and thus made manifest the extreme danger which a momentary reverse in that city might have produced. At Avignon, at Nîmes, and at Marseilles, a smothered and menacing agitation announced a terrible explosion; and if the mail had been intercepted a single day longer, public tranquillity would have been dangerously compromised. Clermont, Grenoble, Châlons, and Vienne, tumults or attempted tumults presaged more extensive risings. The movement passed the frontier, and Ferney felt the rebound of Lyons. At Arbois, the republic was formally proclaimed. Finally, in Paris and at St. Etienne, scenes of blood concluded the mournful drama in Lyons leading character,

and in which every town in France seemed ready to take a part.

In Paris, ■ was merely ■ desperate attempt against a national guard animated by the best spirit, and against an army of troops. The republic was impotent; it was a protestation in honour of the Lyonesse revolt, and nothing more.

But ■ St. Etienne the case was different. There, the labourers are numerous and the armed force insignificant. There, ■ political ■ associations had done their work; the danger therefore was real, and augmented with all the influence which ■ disturbances at St. ■ could exercise upon those of Lyons. If the manufactory of arms had been carried, the consequences of that disaster would have been incalculable, and when we reflect that it might have happened, ■ ■ the necessity of expressing to General Pegot and his small garrison, to the prefect of the Loire, M. Sers, and to M. Dugos, sub-prefect of St. Etienne, all the sentiments due to their noble conduct, and the full gratitude which such eminent services demand.

I have related this sacrilegious struggle which the spirit of disorder provoked and sustained. I am anxious for the last time to reduce to their true value the assertions of those who, after having misrepresented the causes of our catastrophes, seek to exaggerate their consequences.

If ■ listen to them, Lyons is reduced to a heap of ruins. Sixty, and perhaps a hundred millions would not suffice to indemnify the proprietors for the losses they have sustained. By their account, the insurrection, suppressed for the moment, is ready to burst forth again, more menacing and furious than ■. The workmen and manufacturers, seized with legitimate terror, abandon in all quarters a city which no longer affords them a peaceable asylum, and the trade of Lyons must emigrate or perish.

These pictures are drawn by malevolence, and accepted by ■

The truth is, that the material damages are not so considerable as might be supposed. On the Monday, while the last shots were exchanging at the Croix-Rouge, I traversed the streets still bristling with barricades, the quays covered with soldiers, and the squares guarded by cannon. It was then a state of war. The houses occupied as military posts, the bivouacs, the inhabitants imprisoned in their houses, the distant noise of combat, all recalled those ominous ideas which have since subsided by degrees. I then compared Lyons after the days of April, with Paris after those of June or July, and I was astounded at the difference. While observing in the quarter of St. George and St. John, in the main street of Vaise, in the street of Mercière, in the street which leads up to the Croix-Rouge, in the main street of La Guillotière, and in all the squares in the heart of the city, the multiplied traces of combat, the innumerable marks of cannon and musket balls, so easily perceptible on the dark walls;—while templating ruins still more deplorable, the houses burnt by the petards, in all quarters of the city and suburbs, those destroyed by fire in the street of the Hospital, on the quay of the Rhône, and at the tête-de-pont of La Guillotière;—I too could not refrain from believing the mischief to be greater than really was. It is true that that moment I did not value in francs or cents. In presence of the overwhelming and terrible idea of civil war, we cannot enter into the paltry calculation of indemnity.

But the barricades were levelled, the troops had to their barracks, the cannon had been restored to the arsenal, the people had once more appeared in the streets, the shops were opened, and the looms began to work, the traces of balls and bullets began to disappear; Lyons recovered its ordinary aspect, and but for the rubbish houses, it would have difficult to believe that war had so lately raged there. Then we began to take a more exact and practical estimate of the damage

sustained, and it was decided that four or five millions would sufficiently replace all losses.

My object is not to discuss here questions of law, or to decide whether this sum ought to be paid by the state, or whether we fall under the conditions named in the act of Vendémiaire, year IV., which places the expense at the charge of the townspeople. I shall only permit myself a single observation; namely, that the quarrel settled at Lyons was not a local dispute; it was the great political question between the constitutional government and the extreme parties by whom it was constantly attacked; the quarrel, ■ fact, of July 1830, and June 1831. Now, ■ these two epochs, the Chambers decided with sound wisdom, that Paris ought not to pay for all France; that it was a sufficient infliction to be the theatre of contest, without being loaded in addition with the incidental expenses. I appeal, in favour of Lyons, to the authority of these precedents.

One word more, before quitting this subject, on the reproaches cast upon our generals, for having used artillery and petards. This is one of those vulgar complaints which ought to be disposed of ■ once and for ever. Yes, undoubtedly, cannon, howitzer-shells, and petards were used to spare the blood of the soldiers. Yes, the generals have incurred the blame of thinking that the lives of those men, who performed such painful duties with so much courage, were worth more than some pannels of walls; and more even than the lives of the lunatics who thought to find within those walls an impenetrable rampart. Let it be permitted to those who see no Frenchmen in France but such as oppose the government of the country, to refuse to the soldiers who serve it the title of citizens; but we who think that the assumption ■ a uniform ■ right belonging ■ the great national confederacy,—when they talk to us of ten houses destroyed, we reply that fifty brave men have been spared. Woe to those who refuse to admit the force of this answer!

I have exposed the physical state in which Lyons was left by the revolt of April. The disposition of minds is more interesting, but also more difficult to estimate.

If we cast a glance, in the first instance, upon that very numerous class which, without taking any open part in the movement, indirectly lent a hand to it, felt an interest in the success of the insurgents, and waited only a favourable chance to [redacted] their efforts, we shall find them more furious than humbled. They form a thousand extravagant projects of vengeance. The workmen, themselves, who by the experience of February were completely disgusted with associations and intrigues, rallied for the moment round their brethren, because [redacted] appeared to them that the entire class was vanquished, and their pride as heroes of November was wounded by that idea. There is, therefore, a great degree of excitement still prevailing amongst that portion of the community: an [redacted] inevitable [redacted] a check. They are litigants who condemn their judge; they are allowed twenty-four hours in court; [redacted] Lyons it is not too much to give them a month.

We must, undoubtedly, attribute to the idle threats of the workmen, the fears no less absurd to which many of the manufacturers have given way. They do not reflect on the impossibility of a serious attempt at the moment when the garrison is trebled, the party beaten in other quarters, the association dissolved, the leaders in flight or in prison, and their [redacted] removed. In spite of all these [redacted] for security, they place faith in the most ridiculous tales. There is a plot for disarming all the posts, and carrying off the authorities during the night; there is a depôt of muskets, and a manufactory of cartridges. The execution of this plot was fixed for the 26th, then for the 28th, and then indefinitely postponed. Meanwhile many persons left the city and retired to the country, and some even went abroad, to wait the issue of a crisis which they believed to be imminent, instead of looking upon it as over.

But this effect, like the preceding one, is transient in its nature. To those who recollect the terrors, so prolonged and animated, which followed the catastrophe of 1831, these new apprehensions do not seem incurable. I feel convinced that they will soon give place to a feeling of security, which the continuance of public peace will immediately produce, and the defeat of the extreme parties, the definitive breaking up of the industrial or political coalitions, and the commercial prosperity which cannot fail to ensue, must unquestionably guarantee and permanently establish.

Heaven grant that our late troubles may have no other mischievous consequences than the irritation of some, and the momentary terror of others! They have given new strength to the exclusive necessity of order and repose, which ought to spring naturally from our conflicts and protracted sufferings. Perhaps it may excite astonishment if I name this sentiment, so legitimate in itself, as a danger for the country. But if I feel proud of belonging to the moderate party, it is because it gives me the right of rejecting all extreme principles, and of hastening to the rescue of order, when liberty alone possesses men's minds; to the rescue of liberty when public order only is thought of; to the preservation of the device on our standard. Yes, I repeat it, this consideration is more important than is imagined. With every commotion, indifference on political subjects, that gangrene of the social body, makes fresh progress; the partisans of repression at any cost become more numerous and threatening. There is no extravagance of the press, no riot in the streets, which does not take from true liberty some of its old strength. Let there be another insurrection, and many will be ready to sacrifice the freedom of the press, and individual privileges. One more revolt, and *coup d'état* will be called for, another eighteenth of Brumaire may be possible, and a military government be established. The moderates of to-day will perhaps show themselves more

faithful to their principles, more energetic and impassioned in the defence of public liberty, than those who accuse them of lukewarmness.

It is not probable that things will ever come to that climax; faction, beaten on all points, will speedily disappear. Of this I have a firm conviction. The electoral battle will be gained as well as the battle of the streets. Violent opposition will ground its arms, and from time this paroxysm of public order it has excited will naturally calm down. But I have felt called upon to notice it; and above all when speaking of a city which more than any other has given itself up to this sort of prepossession.

To speak only of the consequences that specially interest the city of Lyons, it is impossible not to see that the recent events have entirely delivered it from the recollections of November, 1831, from that perpetual menace, that sword of Damocles, which for two years have interdicted its repose. They have mortally wounded the society of *Mutualists* and of the *Rights of Man*, which exercised alternately the mission of agitation. They have prepared us to repulse with increased energy every attempt at revolt, because they have taught all peaceable inhabitants how much it costs them to suffer the roof they live under to be invaded by bands of rebels.

But there is more than this. Although the industrial question may not have been directly engaged in the struggle, it has felt the counter-blow, it ought to rejoice that it has done so. Let me explain myself. The evil that affects the manufactory at Lyons is the competition of foreign manufactories, which produce plain tissues as well as we can, and at a cheaper rate. To compete with this, we must lower the price of manual labour. This reduction can hardly be reconciled with the existence of the working-classes in a great city where expenses are multiplied. Before resolving to establish themselves in the rural dis-

tricts, the labourers endeavoured to maintain their salaries by the tariff. ■ followed this great experience in the three principal crises—in November 1881, ■ the council of the masters of companies, and in the month of February 1884. The demonstration was complete, and ■ last occurrences still further confirmed it, by rendering political ■ industrial coalitions impracticable for the future. Thus, the tariff has been decidedly given up. This is so certain, that the *Echo of the Manufactory*, which was its champion, ■ recently issued a prospectus filled with the expression of its distress. It has asked from its friends the four thousand francs required for security, and to give it thus the privilege of discussing the political questions, without which ■ could not last for fifteen days. ■ one answered this appeal; the tariff was dead, and could not be revived in any shape.

But this is only a negative solution. ■ was still necessary to find the means of diminishing the cost of manufacture. Already, before the ■ events, ■ workshops ■ opened in the rural townships which surround Lyons; since then, ■ emigration ■ become general. There ■ even ■ question, ■ has been confidently stated, of establishing beyond the confines of Lyons considerable manufactures. Herein lies, I venture to assert, the only possible issue of these interminable quarrels. In the country, subsistence is cheaper, and the work-people will be able to fill up, by various agricultural occupations, the deficiency created here during the season of slack employment. In the great factories, the foreman will disappear, and the general expenses of manufacture will be diminished by the suppression of a superfluous wheel.

I know that in the tribune, the emigration of the operatives in silk has been declared impossible. I have an ■ answer to offer; namely that it has taken place; and without difficulty, because the division of labour, quoted as an obstacle, is nowhere so insignificant as in the manufactory of

Lyons. Thus all the villages in the department of the Rhône re-echo with the noise of the looms; a great portion of the plain stuffs come from them, and that tendency, which had manifested itself for more than a year, received a fresh and wholesome impulse from the troubles of the month of April.

But let it not be supposed that the city of Lyons, thus abandoned by a portion of its inhabitants, is destined to lose its importance, or yield the rank it occupies at present. Many people anticipate its fall. I, on the contrary, predict for it a most brilliant future.

Those of its working-classes who establish themselves in the country cannot go far off. Their relations with the manufacturers are too multiplied to permit a long separation. Thus, the villages are filled with workshops, but only those in the neighbourhood, which will gradually become advanced ■■■■■ the great ■■■■■ metropolis. In this new position, ■■■■■ fabric of plain silk may contend advantageously against foreign competition, and bring back to Lyons many orders that had abandoned it. The confidence produced by this new prosperity will re-act upon the city in its turn. Secured by the measures of government, by the disarming of the townships which gave up muskets to the rebels, by the expulsion of turbulent strangers, and by the reinforcements added to the garrison, that confidence will be completed by a considerable augmentation of the local police, and by its concentration in the hands of the Prefect.

Let the railroad from Lyons to Marseilles be then completed; let the union of the Brotteaux and the enfranchisement of the Pont Morand be carried out, and a new quarter, richer and more influential, will amply compensate for what other portions of the city may have lost in population. Lyons will descend from Fourvières and the Croix-Rousse; it will emerge from its dark and narrow streets, to extend itself leisurely in the peninsula of Perrache and the plain of

the Brotteaux. At Perrache, the railroad from St. Etienne will attract all the traffic from the pits, all the business that works in iron and uses coal, all the factories in steam which have already taken possession of it. At the Brotteaux, the railroad from Marseilles will complete an immense depository of

Observe that unbroken line of Provençal waggons which transport to Lyons the produce to be distributed in all directions; cast an eye then upon the map, and seek for a valley which from the Mediterranean Sea penetrates into the heart of Europe; you will find but the valley of the Rhône, and that at Lyons alone it divides itself. It is Lyons that the great European high-road takes new directions, one reaching Paris, another Germany, and the third Switzerland; and brilliant would be the part assigned to Marseilles and Lyons, if the projected railroad should pour into that single line the accumulated commerce of the North and South.

Therein lies the fortune of Lyons. Undoubtedly, the trade in silk will never leave our city; but, even if it were so, her greatness would survive that loss. The future destines for us many compensations, and our prosperity will surely endure.

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